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BOOKS

Albert Gore Jr.: Global environmental crisis 'real as rain'

Earth in the Balance, Ecology and the Human Spirit by Albert Gore Jr. (Houghton Mifflin, \$22.95)

By James W. Brosnan
Scripps-Howard News Service

Most politicians endure their mid-life crisis before they run for president.

Sen. Albert Gore Jr., D-Tenn., 43, is going through his now, and that's the major reason his book is more interesting than a typical "the-Earth-is-failing-here's-how-we-save-it" political tract.

In "Earth in the Balance, Ecology and the Human Spirit," Gore ties his political fate directly to the success of the environmental movement.

Gore will be signing copies of the book in Knoxville today. He is scheduled to be at Books-A-Million, 8513 Kingston Pike, from 11 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and at Davis-Kidd Booksellers, 113 N. Peters Road, from 12:30 to 1:30 p.m.

A recognized environmental leader in Congress, Gore attempts to outline an environmental agenda for the world:

- He calls for taxing carbon dioxide emissions to prevent global warming, which would surely drive up the cost of electricity and cars.

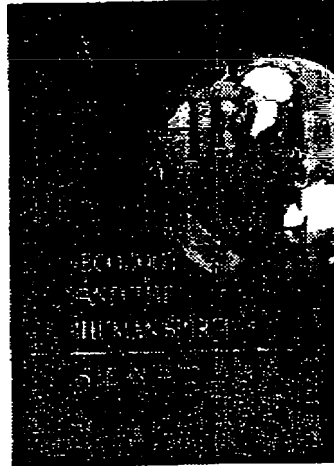
- He thinks people should pay for their garbage pickups based on how much garbage they produce.

- He wants schoolchildren around the world to keep daily weather measures.

- He wants accounting systems changed to reflect the environmental consequences of pollution and resource depletion.

On the other side, Gore attacks the Earth-firsters of the "Deep Ecology" movement for suggesting that man's every advance should be stymied.

He suggests mildly that population control advocates might



break bread with the Catholic Church and work together to raise Third World living standards, which would then persuade Third World families to have fewer children.

And he attempts bravely to develop a theological underpinning for "environmentalism of the spirit."

But even these ideas would not mark a new political path were it not for Gore's assertion that "we must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization" in the post-Cold War era.

As a corollary, this also requires countries to adopt democratic forms of governments and guarantees of human rights because only men and women who are "politically empowered" can "effect remedies to ecological problems wherever they live."

Under a new global Marshall Plan, Gore would aid countries that make the right choices and deny U.S. technology to countries not prepared to use it in an environmentally safe manner.

This is the kind of stuff that

would send pundits and opposing speech writers racing to their keyboards should Gore ever run for president again. That's especially true if global warming and the ozone hole don't pan out as the dangers Gore asserts they are.

So why write it?

Books by politicians are seldom best-sellers, and Gore already has enormous support among environmental groups. He's taken to begging this year's crop of Democratic candidates to even talk about the issue, which he acknowledges is a second-tier concern for voters.

The book is deeper than it needs to be to impress a voter. No political consultant would advise his candidate to describe the environmental problem facing the Earth as a "dysfunctional civilization."

But what this book does say is that if Gore runs for president again, he'll run on his issues and his philosophy.

In 1988, Gore was variously viewed as the candidate of party fat-cats, a not quite ready but very ambitious youngster and Southern-oriented, strong-on-defense moderate. His views on the environment were either derided or ignored.

"The harder truth," confesses Gore, "is that I simply lacked the strength to keep on talking about the environmental crisis constantly whether it was reported in the press or not."

About a year after that race, Gore's 6-year-old son, Albert III, was hit by a car. After months of care for multiple injuries, the boy recovered. But the incident clearly made Gore think more deeply about his family obligations.

The accident and the book



Sen. Albert Gore Jr. is the author of "Earth in the Balance, Ecology and the Human Spirit."

were probably the single two biggest factors in Gore's decision not to run for president this year.

His 1988 loss, his son's accident and his book seem to have combined to force Gore to reconcile political ambition with faith and basic beliefs.

"The global environmental crisis is, as we say in Tennessee, real as rain, and I cannot stand the thought of leaving my children with a degraded earth and a diminished future," writes Gore.

Now, he'll sink or swim with the flood.

Senator Al Gore authors book on environment

In an effort to change the way Americans think about our environment, Houghton Mifflin will publish what Carl Sagan is calling "a landmark book" by Senator Al Gore (D-Tenn), *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*. Publication plans for the 416-page hardcover (\$22.95/ISBN 0-395-57821-3), scheduled for January 22, 1992, include a 35-city author tour and coast-to-coast bookstore appearances.

The book is an inspiring and insightful portrait of global ecological crisis, spanning Al Gore's analysis of politics, history, science, economics, psychology, and religion, and, as Bill Moyers said, "A powerful summons to abandon apocalyptic despair for the politics of life and hope." Al Gore believes the severity of the crisis requires nothing less than a new conception of both the individual and civilization.

Earth in the Balance takes a fresh approach to global ecology - drawing on the senator's eyewitness accounts of environmental trouble spots he has visited around the world, including the North and South Poles, the Amazon rainforest, the Aral Sea, and Africa - and incorporates cutting-edge research with practical solutions.

Moved by an accident that nearly killed his youngest child, Albert III, Senator Gore explains that he has come to re-examine his approach to political issues. "I find excuses for failing to deal with global environmental crisis more difficult to live with," he writes.

Earth in the Balance makes a unique bid for readership: its author is the very advocate who will fight and lead in the coming ecological wars on Capitol Hill and around the world. A deeply concerned 43-year-old father of four, Al Gore uses the

metaphor of the "dysfunctional family" to describe industrial society's relationship to nature. The book reflects Senator Gore's lifelong commitment to environmental awareness, protection, blending personal dedication with public leadership and advocacy on key policy issues.

In what *Publishers Weekly* calls "an important, bold step in the right direction," Gore's blueprint for reshaping that global environment, spelled out in the book's final section, features proposals for dramatic changes in U. S. laws and programs.

A former newspaper reporter and editorial writer who has frequently contributed to numerous magazines and newspapers, Senator Gore was a journalist for seven years before entering politics. He has not used a co-author or collaborator in writing *Earth in the Balance*.

Gore was first elected to the U. S. Congress in 1976 and to the U. S. Senate in 1984 and has been an acknowledged leader on global environmental issues. In Congress, for more than fifteen years, he has repeatedly broken new ground on key issues: co-authoring the Superfund Law; holding the first hearings on global warming; sponsoring the resolution creating Earth Day 1990; creating and chairing the first U. S.-sponsored Interparliamentary Conference on the Global Environment, which produced historic new agreements among more than forty nations; and serving as chairman of GLOBE, an international organization of legislators.

The senator gained national recognition and more than three million votes, winning Democratic primaries in seven states as a candidate for president in 1988. At the age of 40, Al Gore, finished third in a large field.

Gordon proposes campaign clean-up

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Proposals by U. S. Rep. Bart Gordon to clean up political campaigns have been included in broad new Federal Communications Commission rules governing campaign advertising.

"The American public is increasingly frustrated and apathetic with campaigns lacking in substance, devoid of issues, yet full of mean-spirited attacks. It's no wonder the United States has the second lowest voter participation rate of the world's top 20 industrialized countries," Gordon said.

New FCC rules require that political announcements on television carry both a visual and audio sponsorship

message.

In 1990, Gordon first proposed more stringent campaign advertising disclosure measures requiring both audio and visual disclaimers in television advertisements and clear sponsorship announcements in radio and print ads. The candidate's picture also would have to appear in television ads as part of the disclaimer. Groups not affiliated with a particular candidate would have to follow the same rules.

Gordon's proposals were included in campaign reform measures approved by the House in both 1990 and 1991. Last year, the Senate approved its own election reform plan and a

compromise between the two hopefully will be reached this year, the congressman said. The comprehensive reform proposals address everything from campaign spending limits to encouraging small individual contributions to limiting PAC donations.

"The new FCC rules, while not as far-reaching as what I proposed, will help increase accountability and break down the wall of anonymity some candidates hide behind when slinging

mud in advertisements," Gordon said.

"Americans deserve campaigns which are centered around issues of public policy and facts" and not campaigns based on "half-truths, personal attacks and innuendo," Gordon explained. "If a candidate or group is going to resort to those tactics, then the public needs to know who is responsible."

Mud-slinging campaigns contribute to the voter apathy that saw only



Senator Al Gore, author of *EARTH IN THE BALANCE*, scheduled for January 22, 1992 publication by Houghton Mifflin.

half the nation's registered voters cast ballots in the last presidential election. That turnout is "simply repugnant in the world's leading and most progressive democracy," Gordon stated.

In addition to the advertisement disclosures, the FCC rules assure low-cost advertising for all candidates and give broadcast and cable television outlets flexibility in providing advertising time to candidates.

High school condition researched/roof leaks/public negative

In 1966, the Putnam County Senior High School was entirely superior to anything before seen. The ideologies of competition fair as one was named.

Dispatch Pg. 1 Cookeville 1-29-92

BOOK REVIEW / Karen Riley

Perhaps Americans have become smugly self-satisfied about their role as environmentalists because they recycle at the curb and occasionally buy a green product at the supermarket. Or perhaps the staggering economy has of necessity pushed such immediate problems as unemployment and health care to the fore. Yet, whatever the cause, the environment has been consigned to the back of the bus as an election year issue.

But now, as the five-pack of Democratic contenders jostle in New Hampshire, their once and future rival, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee, has come forward with an emotional, even spiritual, book on what he calls a new class of environmental problems that affect the worldwide ecological system. Such man-made problems as overpopulation, global warming, ozone depletion and destruction of the Amazon rain forest are threatening the future of the Earth in a "fundamentally strategic" way, he argues.

"Human civilization is now the dominant cause of change in the global environment," he writes. "Yet we resist this truth and find it hard to imagine that our effect on the Earth must now be measured by the same yardstick used to calculate the strength of the moon's pull on the oceans or the force of the wind against the mountains."

Even subtle changes can be devastating, he argues. For example, 1 degree shifts in temperature can lead to widespread famine, and clear-cutting a forest can erode the soil, disrupt the flow of water and take away habitats for animals.

Mr. Gore has been exploring these issues since 1978, when as a freshman congressman he was assigned to the House subcommittee that investigated the hazardous waste dumps at Love Canal near Buffalo, N.Y. The book is stuffed with vivid details and insights collected from congressional hearings and junkets to such far-flung environmental nightmares as the fast-retreating Aral Sea in Central Asia near Uzbekistan where "destruction is taking place on a biblical scale."

In Queensland, Australia, where the thinning ozone layer is letting in ever-greater ultraviolet radiation, more than 75 percent of all senior citizens have some form of skin cancer and children are required by law to wear large hats and neck scarves to protect their skin when traveling to and from school.

Karen Riley covers environmental issues for the business desk of The Washington Times.

Primer on the green side

And the Amazon rain forest is regularly showered with fertilizing minerals carried across the Atlantic in high westerly wind currents laden with sand lifted from the dunes of the Sahara. Wind funnels are pulling

**EARTH IN THE BALANCE:
ECOLOGY AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT**
By Sen. Al Gore
Houghton-Mifflin, \$22.95
407 pages, illus.

down the sand at the rate of 100 pounds per acre per year.

Of course, Mr. Gore's purpose in the telling is literally to scare people to action. "Each of us must take a hard look at the habits of mind and action that reflect — and have led to



Al Gore

— this grave crisis," he contends, calling for an "environmentalism of the spirit."

His solution is a comprehensive multinational effort he calls a Global Marshall Plan that includes ways to curb population, develop ecologically appropriate technologies and include environmental effects in economic accounting.

Although the title is hackneyed, the package includes a sprinkling of novel ideas. For example, he would impose in developed countries export controls that assess a technology's ecological effect, modeled after export controls of old that aimed to keep weaponry out of the hands of the Soviets.

To cut down on unnecessary physical inventories, he calls for greater use of electronic inventories that store in computer form exact specifications for making products quickly and precisely out of metal and plastic when needed.

And he says the single most sensible short-term step to reduce methane gas in the atmosphere would be to repair the leaky natural-gas pipelines in Eastern Europe and Russia.

Unfortunately, the plan largely ignores what the private sector alone can do. And as would be expected, the book adheres to politically correct scientific views, dismissing with some exaggeration those who discount global warming theories as the rare 2 percent of all scientists.

Although Mr. Gore is lyrical and often painstakingly objective, he is not above the occasional partisan jab. At one point, he accuses President Bush — the environmental president — of cynicism on the global warming issue, relating that on the eve of Earth Day in 1990, the White House circulated a confidential memorandum counseling officials that, rather than trying to convince people not to support action against this problem, a "better approach" was to "raise the many uncertainties."

It has become de rigeur for politicians to produce a thin tome written by an aide on some suitably weighty issue. But Mr. Gore makes much of authoring this book, explaining that he was moved to write it as a result of his young son's near death in 1989 after being struck by a car outside of the Orioles' stadium. True or not, except for some occasional repetition, his book is far, far better than most political documents of its kind and well worth reading as an exhaustive environmental primer.

File Al's Book

1-27-92
WP

Al Gore's 'Earth'

BOOK WORLD, From D1

environmental ills in a single, non-obese volume while at the same time holding the reader's interest is a formidable task. By and large, Gore has pulled it off.

For one thing, he is steeped in his virtually limitless subject, manifesting an impressive knowledge of issues ranging from critical habitat for the spotted owl to the ozone-eating effects of chlorofluorocarbons. Then there are those trips—he has been to both poles and the Equator and many a spot in between—that inject a note of personal involvement into topics that might otherwise pale to abstraction. To take one notable example, he and other members of Congress were en route to meet with Brazilian rubber-tapper Chico Mendes when Mendes was murdered for his efforts to preserve rain forests.

Gore is also a well-read man. He knows his Descartes, exhibits more than a nodding acquaintance with Walter Benjamin's knotty essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" and wields Heisenberg's uncertainty principle with, well, certainty. In the first few chapters, you might find yourself incredulous at the phenom of a senator who has time to discharge his official duties, snatch his share of sound bites, help raise a family and go spearing for knowledge as assiduously as Gore evidently has. After a while, the breadth and depth of his learning dispel any doubts.

Equally important, he knows how to dispense information in memorable images and clever couplings. After giving a number to the thinness of the Earth's atmosphere, he adds: "To put it in perspective, the distance from the ground to the top of the sky is no farther than an hour's cross-country run." To underscore the importance of preserving even horrid species, he reminds us that "when President Reagan was struggling to survive his would-be assassin's bullet, one of the critical drugs used to stabilize him was a blood pressure medication [derived] from an Amazonian bush viper." Emphasizing the failure of standard cost-benefit analysis to account for the depletion of natural resources and the pollution spread by their use, he notes that the "Exxon-Valdez oil spill in Prince William Sound, and efforts to clean it up . . . actually increased our GNP."

If there is one theme that preoccupies Gore, it is the urgent necessity to curb human practices that contribute to the greenhouse effect (the tendency of certain gases to accumulate in the atmosphere and, like the glass panes in a greenhouse, lock in heat that would otherwise escape

into space). He looks at history and adduces a wide range of weather-related examples—including the sudden disappearance of the Anasazi people from southwestern Colorado and the recent, recurrent devastation of Bangladesh by flooding—to make the point that even small fluctuations in weather can trigger great upheavals. "All these changes in climate patterns took place during temperature variations of only 1 to 2 degrees Centigrade," he writes. "Yet today, at the close of the twentieth century, we are in the process of altering global temperatures by up to three to four times that amount."

In places Gore almost gets carried away by that visionary earnestness without which leaders seem to feel handicapped in rousing an apathetic public. As he intones, "Whether we realize it or not, we are now engaged in an epic battle to right the balance of our earth," glaze begins to form over readerly eyes. (Not that he sounds wrong there—just formulaic.) And his chapter on the "Environmentalism of the Spirit," with its critique of the tendency to separate feeling from thinking and its quotes from Pope John Paul II, the Koran and Chief Seattle, may strike some readers as soft-nosed. It's possible to skip these sections, of course, though doing so would, at a minimum, diminish one's sense of the private person behind this public communicator.

Only toward the book's end, though, when Gore heeded a self-generated call to lay out a comprehensive agenda for alleviating all the problems he had discerned, did he really start to lose this reviewer. The reach of his approach is breathtaking: a U.S.-led Global Marshall Plan in tandem with a high-tech Strategic Environment Initiative, among whose goals are "eliminating the internal combustion engine over, say, a twenty-five-year period" and a transfer of modern pipeline design technology to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where leaking natural gas pipelines are discharging great quantities of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. But the orderly presentation of point after sub-headed point makes for rough reading, not to mention the temptation to throw up one's hands and mutter, "Too grandiose—it'll never happen."

Still, this programmatic global coda is worthy of attention if only because at least some of it will surely become a blueprint for congressional action. And in any event Gore never promised one of those friendly little "Fifty Things You Can Do to Cleanse Yourself of Environmental Guilt" books.

Several years ago, Gore mentions in the introduction, while he was dashing from one presidential primary to the next, he made such an impassioned plea for combating the greenhouse effect that one of his opponents accused him of running for "national scientist." Having decided to sit out the current election and write this book, in effect he has taken that office by storm.

The reviewer is a Washington writer and lawyer.

Book World

The Senator's World View

Al Gore & His Environmental Plan

IN THE BALANCE
Ecology and the Human Spirit

Sen. Al Gore
Houghton Mifflin. 407 pp. \$22.95

By Dennis Drabelle

Teddy Roosevelt once called the presidency a bully pulpit. With publication of this book, Al Gore shows that the U.S. Senate can be a bully seminar table.

On the evidence of "Earth in the Balance," Gore takes full advantage of a senator's ability to summon experts whose testimony can enlighten him, to travel in search of firsthand impressions (one pol's junket is another's crash course), to draw upon the fact-finding and analyzing resources of staff and the Library of Congress. I can't judge how well the junior senator from Tennessee serves his constituents, but if there lives a member of Congress who knows more about the environment, he or she isn't talking, much less writing. (I think it's safe to take at face value Gore's claim that he and he alone is the author here: Before running for office, he worked as a journalist; moreover, the prose has a hortatory, senatorial ring, with an echo of the hustings.)

Doing justice to the panoply of the Earth's systemic
See BOOK WORLD, D6, Col. 1

ry and reticence.

Most of these 16 stories (many of which first appeared in *The New Yorker* and *Grand Street*) are monologues spoken or thought by people newly arrived in places, jobs or relationships, people who are excavating, through memory and reflection, pathways to comforting pasts or promising futures. In "Boys Who Do the Bop," a well-meaning drifter, who'd like to be more focused and faithful than he is, seeks "a feeling of order where there's apparently none" in learning to type and in clinging apathetically to the remnants of a fragmented love affair. In "Six

Bruce Allen, a freelance writer, reviews books for *The Chicago Sun-Times*, *USA Today* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

call me by a name if he sees me somewhere. . . . If he called me by the name I'm called now, I still wouldn't like it, and especially not from him, because the name was my father's. . . . If I let him just once call me something, I was thinking, then it would be up to him — he's almost seven — whether or not to call me that from then on. But then I thought should I let him start calling me something right away or wait to see how things work out with his mother and me?

It might not seem easy to breathe any love into a name like Father. It's a stiff word — it's not soft, like, say, Papa — but sometimes you have to breathe love into names you don't choose.

From "Father Must."

en Says" and "40" seem to me particularly pointless. Sometimes he contrives an intriguing premise but fails to develop it convincingly. In "Satellite Dish," an elderly woman allows a sheltering elm tree to be cut down to improve television reception. Her decision may be the culmination of a life marked by compromise and deference ("I always got along by going carefully") but we aren't told enough about her to be sure of this.

But at their best, these surgically precise slices of intelligent life are distinguished by virtuosic phrase making and fetchingly off-beat specifics (such as this, noted by a peruser of Chinese newspapers; "Yesterday there was an article that was all Chinese characters except for ROY ORBISON, six times"). We know their appealingly troubled people well enough to wonder how their quietly chaotic lives will turn out, and we willingly imagine the rest.

Saving Ourselves

EARTH IN THE BALANCE

Ecology and the Human Spirit.

By Al Gore.

Illustrated. 407 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$22.95.

By Gina Maranto

DURING his 15-year tenure in Congress, Senator Al Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, has made an intensive study of environmental issues. The results, as displayed in "Earth in the Balance," a comprehensive assessment of the forces of planetary destruction — including

overpopulation, deforestation, soil erosion and air and water pollution — are impressive.

Senator Gore presents even familiar materials in fresh and compelling fashion, drawing from the work of such diverse thinkers as the critic Walter Benjamin, the climate historian Hubert H. Lamb and the physicists Per Bak and Kan Chen.

Now that the cold war is over, he argues, the central strategic threat is that presented by humans to the global environment. In this context, he rethinks the world's industrial and financial arrangements and proposes a

Gina Maranto writes about the environment for *Discover* magazine and other publications.

"Global Marshall Plan" for the environment.

His recommendations are far-reaching and specific — for example, to redefine gross national product to account for the ecological costs of growth, or to design tree-planting programs to insure that seedlings are nursed through the first year of growth.

The author exhibits little of the clichéd myopia of his profession and is aware of the political obstacles posed by such an integrated approach.

He identifies the root of our current problems as spiritual. If civilization is to persist, he maintains, it must make the rescue of the environment its organizing principle.

His colleagues on Capitol Hill, for starters, should read this perspicacious, heartening book and harken to its message.

the book has been closed."

— *Library Journal*



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The New York Times Book Review
Sunday 2/9/92

A call to environmental action

Sen. Al Gore spawns significant, intelligent and brave book

By WILL MARTIN

Al Gore's *Earth in the Balance* is a significant, intelligent and brave book.

It represents the strongest and boldest call to action on the global environment to date by a national political leader.

This is not a feel-good campaign book designed to capture votes. It is a sweeping commitment to the progressive programs and attitudes necessary to solve our current global environmental crises.

EARTH IN THE BALANCE: Ecology and the Human Spirit.

By Senator Al Gore.
Houghton Mifflin Company.
\$22.95.

Because we will have to swallow strong medicine and change policies and perspectives to cure our ecological problems, environmental leadership is not necessarily popular, a reality Gore recognizes in his introduction. Thus, a great strength of this book lies in the courage shown by a politician who could easily coast on his accomplishments but who chooses to take the long view.

Gore concentrates on strategic, or global, environmental issues and demonstrates his comprehensive understanding of the scientific aspects of the depressing array of these problems: global warming, ozone depletion, population explosion, species extinction, hazardous waste proliferation, freshwater degradation, seed genetic erosion, resource depletion, deforestation and desertification.

Gore adds a personal dimension to these crises: He has personally been there, whether in the Amazon rain forest, Antarctica, East Africa, the rapidly evaporating Aral Sea in Russia or the North Pole. He has arranged Congressional hearings into many of the issues and has developed close ties with experts in the field. And he has sponsored or cosponsored most of the federal legislation dealing with global environmental problems.

The scope of the book is staggering, as the author addresses matters of philosophy, science, psychology, religion, history, macroeconomics and politics. He navigates theories of thermodynamics, relativity, feedback curves and ocean circulation, not to mention principles of Cartesian, Platonic and Aristotelian thought.

Gore has a facility for assimilating complex data and communicating it in lay terms, and the concepts he explores give the reader an outline of his intellectual pinnings.



Sen. AL GORE

Sam Parish © Staff

The subtitle is *Ecology and the Human Spirit*, and the book reveals the contours of the author's spiritual and emotional sides in addition to his intellect. Gore devotes significant space to theories on the interplay between environmental problems and spiritual, religious, philosophical and psychological factors. He examines his own personal faith and philosophy, as well as other world religions and philosophies, for their respective relationships to ecology.

He finds metaphors in the psychology of addictive behavior and dysfunctional families. He writes, "I believe that our civilization is, in effect, addicted to the consumption of the earth itself." Addictive behavior is an unhealthy response to psychic pain the addict cannot face. In this case, Gore says the pain lies in the loss of our connection to the natural world. He urges civilization to reconnect with nature, renounce the addiction to excessive consumption and adopt an ethic of stewardship.

When it comes to policy and collective political action, Gore does not quail. His solution is bold: "Make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization," just as rescuing democracy and free markets from the threat of communism served as the central organizing principle for Western policies during the past half-century.

Gore proposes a "Global Marshall Plan for the Environment," advocating that Japan, Europe, the United States and the oil countries transfer environmentally helpful technologies to the Third World to help impoverished nations achieve "a new pattern of sustainable economic progress." He also urges wealthy nations to make transitions to more appropriate technologies.

Advocates of the status quo will find Gore's views and proposal unacceptable, primarily because of the perceived short-term economic cost. But, few developments in modern history have been more radical than the abuse we have dealt the environment.

Do we, as Al Gore urges, have the vision and will to look to the long term and restore the Earth to its proper balance? ■

Will Martin is a Nashville lawyer and director of Polar Programs for The Wilderness Society.

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ROBERT GABRIEL / Los Angeles Times

her Marjorie Lord Volk, Fannie Flagg joined forces at the USC Libraries
n, and author-honoree Scriptor Award dinner for "Fried Green Tomatoes."



LEE SALEM / For The Times

le Marta, left, and hosts Lynn and Doug
ger's appearance as conductor of the L.A.
dinner at the Bregels' San Marino home.

Black-
by an-
gift of

her up. The shrieks of "Happy
Birthday" were so warming that
the honoree broke into tears and
asked for a fast martini.

Alice Avery's son Tony Moiso
and his wife, Melinda, of Laguna
Beach stood with three daugh-
ters—Cristy and Anne Marie, and
Trina Shattuck and her husband,
Mack. Avery's son Jerome Moiso
and his wife, Mary, came from
Carmel.

Avery's brother, Democratic
kingpin Richard O'Neill, and his
wife, Donna, were there. So were
best pals Josie Wayne; Jackie and
Jay McMahon; Elizabeth Wester-
by; Joan Graham; Dr. Burton Smith
(former physician to Presidents
Reagan and Bush) and his wife,
Kit, and former Ambassador to the
Vatican William and Betty Wilson.

GORE

Continued from E7

something about the problem.

"Voters in this country are much more concerned about the environment than politicians seem to be," Sterling says. "People seem really scared about where we are going, and they hunger for political leaders to take on the subject. It's certainly puzzling why politicians seem to be so out of sync with the culture."

Gore agrees. "I think rising within our culture is a profound uneasiness with the logical consequences of what we have been doing," he says during a telephone interview from Washington.

Quoting a line from the rock group Dire Straits, "Denial ain't just a river in Egypt," he elaborated: "Just as an alcoholic denies the existence of his problem, and sees a series of auto accidents as an unrelated set of unfortunate coincidences, so we see the ozone hole, Alaskan oil spill and garbage crisis as isolated, unconnected events."

He thinks such denial is largely generational. "I can go into any elementary school in the country and talk to young people who recognize that we live in a global world." Only when adults recognize the enormity of the problem can there be an effective response, says the senator, who describes his book as a "declaration of an all-out commitment" to such an effort.

He recognizes that his book's Global Marshall Plan, loaded with new programs and major policy changes, looks formidable, but insists he will fight hard for its enactment. Each of its five strategic goals—such as stabilizing world population and ramrodding development of alternative technologies—is supported by a detailed set of enabling policy changes.

"People look at this plan and think it is impossible—it can't be done. But what if I had suggested two years ago that the Soviet Union would disappear, that Russians would embrace capitalism and people would gather in the Budapest city square and sing 'We Shall Overcome'?"

"What happened is that people realized that communism was stupid, looked around and found others agreed, and they reached a critical mass. That's the change I expect to occur in respect to the environment. And when that happens, the political system will fall all over itself to respond."

Should that occur, Gore, 43, will be there to lead. He chairs the Senate's environmental and energy study conference and has written pioneer legislation including the 1989 World Environmental Policy Act.

□
CIRCLE RED: Dodger pitcher Orel Hershiser hosts the L.A. Dodgers 65 Roses Club dinner to benefit Cystic Fibrosis Saturday at the Sheraton Universal. Dodger center fielder Brett Butler has signed on as sports auction chair.

□
PAST PERFECT: Doug and Lynn Bregel hosted a post-concert dinner in their San Marino home to honor Plácido Domingo after his recent appearance as conductor of the Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra at the Ambassador Auditorium in Pasadena and his acceptance later of the Ambassador Award for Excellence from Ambassador Foundation chairman Joseph Tkach.

Jeanne Roderick, general manager of Escada boutique in Beverly Hills, surrounded herself with 200 members of Friends of Robinson Gardens to announce that Escada will sponsor the Children's Garden at Virginia Robinson Gardens. It's designed to teach Beverly Hills and Los Angeles third-graders ecology and conservation.

Some 60 guests joined UCLA Executive Vice Chancellor Andrea L. Rich at the Venice home of Roy and Carol Doumani. The occasion honored Robert Blocker, new dean of the UCLA School of the Arts

From \$1 tips for autographs, \$2 tips for photographs and lots of VIP sponsorships, Children's Bureau of Los Angeles is predicting a \$210,000 net for child-abuse prevention. Sunday, Los Angeles Kings Wayne Gretzky and Dave Taylor did the signing and posing for 1,500 fans and 500 at a VIP reception at Tip-A-King '92.

Environmentalism and political activism seem natural paths for Gore, whose father, Albert Sr., was a Tennessee senator from 1953 to 1971. Albert Jr. first learned of the Earth's fragility as a child on his family's Carthage, Tenn., farm. His mother's admiration for Rachel Carson's classic "The Silent Spring" also made a special impression.

At Harvard in the 1960s, he was influenced by professor Roger Revelle, who first monitored rising amounts of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and warned of global warming.

Gore's book, in part, is a personal journey undertaken when he had just turned 40, had lost the presidential nomination and had seen his 6-year-old son fight back from a near-fatal automobile accident, giving the father of four, he says, "a new sense of urgency about the

'Our founders talked openly about posterity, but in politics today, if you stand on a podium and express concern about what's going to happen in 200 years, it doesn't strike many sparks.'

SEN. AL GORE JR.

things I value most."

This contributes to the underlying spiritual theme of "Earth in the Balance," which emphasizes that the real crisis is the lost connection to the natural world, Gore says.

"I think that we have mistakenly bought into the assumption that we are isolated individuals, seduced to think that our principal goal is to control the world around us."

What has been lost in the process, he believes, is the responsibility to future generations.

"Our founders talked openly about posterity," he says, "but in politics today, if you stand on a podium and express concern about what's going to happen in 200 years, it doesn't strike many sparks."

In retrospect, he says, it was a mistake to abandon the environmental issues in his presidential campaign and succumb to the "temptation of talking on things that would get some air time."

If he runs again—and he says he would like the opportunity—he won't lose his nerve.

"The integrity of the environment," he says, "is not just another issue to be used in political games for popularity, votes or attention."



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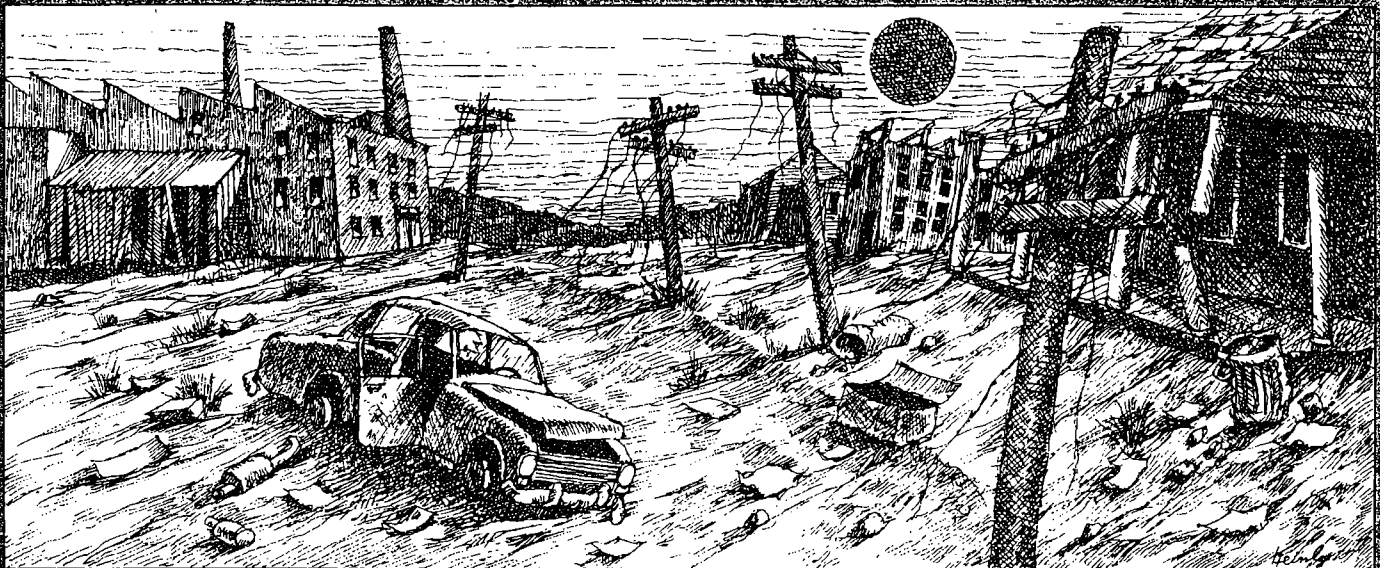
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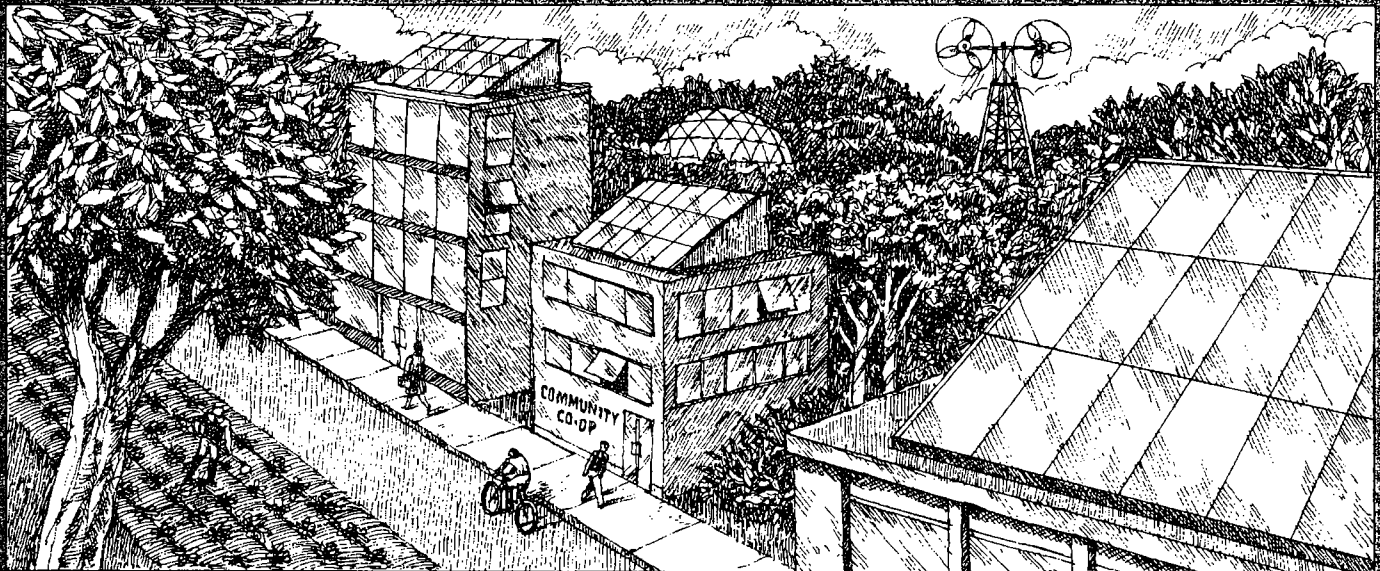
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A MAGAZINE FOR BUILDING ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES

COOP AMERICA QUARTERLY



WHICH WILL IT BE?



CREATING A SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY

Gore's Environment Book Becomes a Weapon for Both Sides

■ Ecology: The Democrats point to the best-seller as a clear, courageous plan. The GOP characterizes it as the work of an extremist.

By DAVE LESHER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

One of the main reasons Al Gore said he decided to run for President in 1988 was to make people aware that the global environment is dangerously close to disaster.

Like his campaign, the message failed to connect with voters. But if anything, Gore said he became even more convinced after the election that his environmental fears were well founded and that the issue should become a mission for his life.

Earlier this year, Gore wrote a book called "Earth in the Balance—Ecology and the Human Spirit" as another attempt to alert America to what he calls its destructive habits. He contends that the problems stem from a crisis in the relationship between humans and their environment.

"The more deeply I search for the roots of the global environmental crisis, the more I am convinced that it is an outer manifestation of an inner crisis that is, for lack of a better word, spiritual," Gore wrote. "... We have assumed that our lives need have no real connection to the natural world, that our minds are separate from our bodies, and that as disembodied intellects we can manipulate the world in any way we choose."

As Gore returns to the presidential campaign as Bill Clinton's running mate, "Earth in the Balance" provides a blueprint of one of the sharpest contrasts between the two White House tickets.

Gore's supporters say the book will be embraced as courageous and visionary because it contains the kind of crystal-clear statements so rare from politicians.

But Republicans are convinced that the book's bold language will help them define some of their fundamental differences with the Democratic ticket—and that voters will side with the GOP. The Administration hopes to cast Gore and Clinton as "environmental extremists," and use sections from the book to back up their characterization.

Ultimately, the GOP hopes to undermine the Democratic ticket's moderate image.

In that context, Vice President Dan Quayle recently traveled to Michigan, the heartland of America's automotive industry, to highlight Gore's proposal to eliminate the internal combustion engine within 25 years.

"America has the world's best environmental record, but that doesn't matter to Gore and other hard-core environmentalists," Quayle said.

Gore responded in a television appearance Sunday by charging that jobs in the auto industry are already being lost to the economic problems of the Republican Administration.

About eliminating the internal combustion engine, Gore said: "I used that as an example of the scale of changes we ought to contemplate over the next quarter-century. ... I'm sure there were some in the aircraft industry who said: 'Get rid of the propeller? Those jet engines will never fly.'"

The GOP strategy has been complicated by William K. Reilly, the man Bush appointed to run the Environmental Protection Agency. "I don't think he [Gore] is an environmental extremist," Reilly said after other members of the Administration had made the charge, adding that he has "a lot of respect" for Gore's book.

Another assignment for Bush strategists is to dispel the impression that Clinton and Gore are the best ticket for change. As a result, Republicans have tried to portray Gore's world view as one in which American society and individual freedoms are the sources of the Earth's destruction.

As evidence, Republican attacks have focused on a section of "Earth in the Balance" in which Gore compares American society to the life of a drug addict and to the distorted behavior of a dysfunctional family.

Gore wrote that society's lack of a relationship with the natural world has left a void that it has filled, like a drug addict, with an insatiable and destructive urge to consume environmental resources. At the same time, he said, society has developed a false world—evidenced by plastic flowers, air conditioning and frozen food—"to replace the experience of communion with the world that has been taken from us."

Gore referred to Nazi Germany as another example of a dysfunctional society, providing fodder for the sharpest



BERNIE HUSTON / Los Angeles Times

Sen. Al Gore says that he might have been more "reluctant" to write "Earth in the Balance" had he known that he would be running for the vice presidency.

GOP attacks.

"When the vice presidential candidate of a major party thinks that every time you walk through the frozen-food section of a grocery store that it's like Gestapoism in Nazi Germany, that is absolutely weird," Rep. Newt Gingrich

(R-Ga.) said in a recent speech.

Quayle also referred to the book, saying: "There is a sad and strange outlook on the world."

In an interview with The Times, Gore said that he is happy the book makes a strong case for increasing environmental

diligence and that he is comfortable in defending it. But he added that he's not sure he would have written the book if he had known he would be running for vice president.

"I might have felt a little more reluctant to do that if I felt [the book] was going to be in a national campaign," Gore said aboard his campaign plane recently. "I might well have been more vulnerable to timidity in some of the frank self-description in the book and some of the efforts to really bare my soul."

"Earth in the Balance" was on the national best-seller list before Gore was nominated, and sales have picked up.

Here are some of the main topics:

GLOBAL WARMING: In a chapter called "Climate and Civilization: a Brief History," Gore contends that some of the world's most traumatic times have been caused, or at least influenced, by environmental changes.

He traces examples back thousands of years, from a temperature shift shortly before the disappearance of the Minoan culture from Homer's epics in 1200 B.C. to the 1930s migration of Oklahoma migrant workers from the Depression-era Dust Bowl. The message is that a slight shift in the environment can have profound effects on civilization.

"All of these changes took place during temperature variations of 1 to 2 degrees centigrade," Gore wrote. "Yet today, at the close of the 20th Century, we are in the process of altering global temperatures by up to three or four times that amount."

Gore predicts that global warming could cause seas to rise, forcing the dislocation of 10 million people from Bangladesh in the next few decades and, possibly, 60% of the population of Florida.

He suggests a variety of solutions to reduce the production of so-called greenhouse gases, which trap solar radiation and warm the planet. On an international level, he said, treaties should limit production of pollutants, and developed countries might retire some Third World debt in return for more environmentally benign practices.

POPULATION BOOM: The rapid depletion of food sources and destruction of such natural resources as the rain forests are largely caused by a booming population, Gore says. As a result, a primary focus for ecologists should be to slow population growth.

Please see BOOK, A8

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BOOK: Gore Sees a Crisis

Continued from A5

"From the beginning of humanity's appearance on Earth to 1945, it took more than 10,000 generations to reach a world population of 2 billion people," Gore wrote. "Now, in the course of one human lifetime—mine—the world population will increase from 2 [billion] to more than 9 billion—and it is already more than halfway there."

Gore calls for an extensive program to stabilize global population that involves adequate nutrition, health care, an increase in literacy and education rates and lower infant mortality.

OZONE DEPLETION: One of the most dangerous global threats, Gore says, is the depletion of ozone in the atmosphere and the resulting increase in ultraviolet radiation reaching the Earth. The problem has been caused, Gore says, largely by the release of chlorofluorocarbons during the last 60 years. CFCs come from such things as air conditioners, refrigerators and propellants for aerosol cans—although in recent years they have been replaced in aerosol cans with possibly more benign ingredients.

The radiation inhibits the ability of plants to photosynthesize—that is, to convert sunlight to fuel—the book says. It has also increased the incidence of skin cancer and cataracts and threatens humans' immunity systems.

In the Australian state of Queensland, Gore said, three-quarters of residents over age 65 have skin cancer, and children are required by law to wear hats and scarves for protection from the sun.

"What does it mean to redefine one's relationship to the sky?" he wrote. "What will it do to our children's outlook on life if we have to teach them to be afraid to look up?"

Gore suggests that the United States accelerate its schedule for phasing out the use of CFCs.

GOVERNMENT: Gore sees an active role for government in changing American behavior to become

more environmentally benign. He argues that changes can be made with minimal impact on lifestyles.

If cities charged for garbage pickup by the pound, for example, Gore suggests that residents would have greater incentive to recycle, reduce waste and avoid bulky packaging. He also proposes a government standard for "green labels" to steer consumers toward products with the least environmental impact.

Gore proposes a variety of tax mechanisms to influence behavior. He proposes two taxes—one on petroleum or coal fuels and another on "virgin materials"—such as trees used to make paper. The taxes could be offset by reductions in other taxes that would encourage more environmentally sensitive practices.

SITUATION IS GRAVE: Gore acknowledges that conclusive scientific evidence has not confirmed all the dire scenarios he predicts. Researchers are uncertain, for example, precisely what will happen if the carbon dioxide level in the atmosphere doubles in the next few decades.

But he chastises those who suggest that further evidence is needed before taking drastic steps to significantly reduce the production of greenhouse gases.

"The insistence on complete certainty about the full details of global warming—the most serious threat that we have ever faced—is actually an effort to avoid facing the awful, uncomfortable truth: that we must act boldly, decisively, comprehensively and quickly, even before we know every last detail about the crisis," he wrote.

The most significant change needed, Gore said, is in public attitudes, "for most people do not yet accept the fact that this crisis is extremely grave." He compares the magnitude of the necessary shift in perception to the dawn of the nuclear age, when warfare was changed forever by the realization that humans were capable of destroying the planet.

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FOREWORD

A great many changes have taken place in the United States and throughout the world during the twelve months since this book was first published in hard-cover at the beginning of 1992, but thankfully, none has required any modification of the text for this new edition. And although the book has occasionally been attacked (chiefly by political opponents of the sweeping changes in policy it recommends), no challenge to the accuracy of its facts or the fairness of its analysis has been sustained. Indeed, quite to the contrary, I have been gratified by the incredible outpouring of support it has received, both from the scientific community and from the general reading public. Of course, the highly personal nature of the book and its spiritual point of view have caused some readers to disagree with my view of the relationship between humankind and the earth. But that is neither surprising nor unwelcome.

In any event, the purpose of this new foreword for the paperback edition is not to qualify the original text (which begins with the Introduction on page ____), but rather to add a brief discussion of several events that have occurred since the book was written, events which I believe have special relevance to ideas contained in the text.

To begin with, in June of last year, the leaders of almost every nation on earth gathered in Rio de Janeiro for the United

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Nations Conference on Environment and Development. Popularly known as the "Earth Summit", this meeting was criticized by many for producing weak and watered-down agreements with few meaningful commitments to change the behavior of nations. But in spite of the Bush Administration's cynical determination to torpedo any agreement containing a real commitment to act -- the Earth Summit nevertheless marked a historic turning point in the long struggle to increase international awareness of the true nature of the global environmental crisis. And it effectively moved the world a long way down the road toward a better understanding of how and why future economic progress is inextricably linked to sound policies promoting protection of the environment and wise stewardship of our natural resources.

Indeed, there is little doubt that a powerful learning experience took place in Rio as leaders from all parts of the world shared a common realization that the particular concerns which had led them to attend the Earth Summit in the first place were actually just different outward manifestations of the same underlying global crisis. The burning and clearcutting of the tropical rainforests, the thousand-fold increase in the rate at which living species become extinct, the poisoning of our air and water, global warming and stratospheric ozone depletion -- all these tragedies and more were suddenly recognized as different pieces of the same puzzle, or to put it another way, different consequences of the collision between our worldwide civilization and the ecological system of the earth.

This collision is occurring principally because of three

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large changes in the nature of our relationship to the earth: first, the population explosion is now adding the equivalent of China's population every 10 years; second, the scientific and technological revolution has increased our power to manipulate nature and has vastly magnified our ability to have an impact on the world around us; and third, for reasons discussed in Part II of the book, our way of thinking about our relationship to the environment has changed (not for the better, unfortunately) as we have yielded to the intense modern pressures to deny responsibility for the future consequences of our present actions.

But there are many reasons for fresh hope, and the Earth Summit laid the groundwork for important shifts in policies throughout the world designed to stop the destruction of the global ecological system. Even though the formal documents signed at Rio were short on substance, the Summit spawned a widespread recognition of a powerful change in thinking which is now underway in both the industrial and the developing countries. Moreover, most participants and observers agreed that this conference would be only the first in a continuing series of worldwide meetings to discuss and implement a new generation of global treaties aimed at promoting sustainable economic progress and healing the relationship between human civilization and the fragile ecological system of the earth.

In addition to the formal meetings of the official delegates, the Earth Summit also featured a remarkable variety of less formal opportunities for dialogue among people from every

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nation on earth. Indeed, the great riches of human creativity were on full display in Rio: a giant "Tree of Life" was decorated with the heartfelt messages from children around the world, written in crayon on paper leaves; representatives of indigenous peoples like the Kayapao, Yanomami, Inuit and Penan presented songs, dances and impassioned speeches in defense of the endangered remnants of wildness within which their ancient cultures are struggling to survive; scientists displayed sophisticated and startlingly beautiful computer images of every square inch of the earth -- as seen from space -- along with voluminous data describing the damage now taking place on a daily basis; artists crafted spectacular sculptures, paintings, music, graphics and films covering almost every aspect of the eleven day agenda. And they all seemed more alike than different: the indigenous person and the artist, the scientist and the child, the tourist and the diplomat. All seemed to share a deeper understanding -- a recognition that we are all part of something much larger than ourselves, a family related only distantly by blood, but intimately by commitment to each other's common future and to the global environment of which we are all a part.

That recognition may have been the Earth Summit's most important achievement. In much the same way that the first photographs taken of the earth floating above the moon's horizon produced a profound change in the way we pictured this planet in our minds, the Earth Summit has begun to produce a change in the way nations throughout the world picture their relationship and responsibility to each other. And of course it also helped

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produce a dramatic increase in the awareness of the global environmental crisis on the part of people throughout the world.

But if the Earth Summit was a success for the world as a whole, it was a serious setback for our nation. At a crucial moment in history, when the rest of the world was requesting and eagerly expecting American leadership -- not to mention vision -- our nation found itself embarrassed and isolated at Rio. Although we were ably represented by a fine delegation of negotiators (headed by Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly), the Bush Administration insisted that our delegation argue in favor of so many nonsensical positions that a deadlock was virtually guaranteed.

This process had actually begun during the preparatory negotiating sessions throughout the two years preceeding the Earth Summit itself. For example, long before the summit, almost every other industrial nation in the world had stated its willingness to set binding targets for reducing and stabilizing carbon dioxide (CO2) emissions. But the Bush administration threatened to torpedo the entire Earth Summit in order to prevent the adoption of targets and timetables for CO2 reductions -- even though its own studies showed that we could easily meet the most commonly debated goal (stabilization of CO2 emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000) with purely voluntary, non-binding measures.

Japan signalled early in the process that although it was willing to adopt targets and timetables, it would eventually follow the U.S. lead on this issue. By contrast, several

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European nations -- led by Germany -- attempted to pressure and persuade the United States to change its view. Although in the end the threat of a U.S. decision to pull out of the Earth Summit forced every other industrial nation to acquiesce to the Bush position -- most of these other countries did sign a separate declaration reaffirming their commitment to reducing their own CO2 emissions to 1990 levels.

Tragically, as a direct consequence of the U.S. insistence on having no binding agreement to reduce CO2 emissions in industrial countries, the developing nations of the world abandoned their willingness to negotiate an international treaty to protect endangered rainforests and other fragile ecosystems lying within their national territories. From the beginning they were angered by the Bush administration's insistence that only tropical forests were in need of protection. And in addition, they had identified an implicit link between the reduction of CO2 emissions on the part of industrial countries and the protection of forests in tropical countries: in their view, rainforest resources are the lifeblood of the economy in many developing countries -- just as carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels is the exhaling breath of the industrial economies. They were not (and still ARE not) happy at the prospect of world action to preserve tropical forests so that they might inhale and sequester the growing emissions of carbon from the industrial north. So, when the U.S. forced the industrial world to abandon any commitment to stabilize CO2 emissions, we simultaneously destroyed any chances for an agreement to protect the

While the developed countries commit to no meaningful action to reduce those emissions in the first place.

(Higher ground here if say that they recognize that the Bush administration is responsible for this. See -- there, Global Sustainability requires action on forest preservation & biodiversity to prevent greenhouse gas emissions)

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rainforests.

These developments had poisoned the atmosphere at Rio before the conference ever began, but there was at least some remaining hope for a separate agreement on protecting "biodiversity" -- that is, measures to slow down the extraordinary increase in the rate of extinction around the world. Here too, the intransigence of the Bush administration at the preparatory sessions -- (especially the last one, in Nairobi, less than a month before the Earth Summit) -- had poisoned the atmosphere. But as soon as William Reilly arrived in Rio a few days prior to the Earth Summit's opening ceremonies, he identified a way to resolve the remaining problems with the Biodiversity Treaty and save the U.S. (and President Bush) from embarrassment. After clearing his proposed solution with the State Department, the Commerce Department and the rest of the negotiating team, he sent a confidential cable to the White House requesting permission to proceed with the last-minute negotiations necessary to finalize the treaty. But then, just as the Earth Summit began, the Bush White House not only denied Reilly permission to proceed, it humiliated him by leaking his memo to the press along with statements by unnamed sources ridiculing his efforts. The entire sequence of events created a firestorm of criticism of U.S. policies, and of President Bush, and guaranteed the embarrassment that Reilly had tried hard to avoid. We thus became virtually the only nation in the world to refuse to sign one of the major treaties at the Earth Summit.

Our isolation at Rio was especially unfortunate because the

Earth Summit represented the first meeting of the entire global community, and marked the emergence of what I refer to in Part Three of this book as the new "central organizing principle" of the Post Cold War World -- namely, the task of protecting the Earth's environment while fostering economic progress. In the aftermath of communism's collapse, the United States is obviously in the preeminent position to lead the world community. The large ideas we have championed -- political and economic freedom -- are ascendant throughout the world; we have earned the moral authority necessary to lead the world; our economy is still twice as large as that of our closest competitor, Japan; and we are the sole remaining superpower.

Consequently, the rest of the world quite naturally expects the United States to offer leadership -- especially in confusing times of transition like these. So the disappointment at Rio was keen when the U.S. not only failed to lead but actively fought against needed progress on the environment. The mood, however, was one of astonishment and sorrow more than of anger -- at least in part because of a widespread recognition that the views of the Bush Administration were not those of the American people. And sure enough, every public opinion poll that has asked the question has found that Americans want our nation to lead the world community on this issue more than on any other. In conversations throughout the United States, I have found confirmation that our people are determined to see that our nation does offer leadership on the environment -- with vision, courage and a real commitment to the future -- because they are

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convinced it is the right thing to do.

Americans also expect U.S. leadership on the environment for a second reason: they are convinced that it is in our economic interest. By overwhelming majorities, the American people reject the argument proffered during the Bush Administration that we must choose between jobs and the environment. They believe instead that we can prosper by leading the environmental revolution and producing for the world marketplace the new products and technologies that foster economic progress without environmental destruction.

I think they're right; and many believe that we can create millions of new jobs by leading the environmental revolution and speeding up our efforts to manufacture and sell environmentally superior products and technologies. In fact, Japan and Germany have been openly proclaiming that these new and more efficient products that minimize environmental damage now represent the biggest new market in the history of world business. Perhaps an image from Brazil last summer provides the best illustration of my point: while the Earth Summit was underway, a parallel exhibition of new environmental technologies was staged in Sao Paulo. The contrast was striking between the tiny U.S. exhibit - made up of a handful of small businesses selling such wares as pipe connectors and dosimeters -- and the enormous, highly sophisticated Japanese effort -- made up of hundreds of exhibits by businesses representing every sector of the Japanese economy, all working together within the framework of an ambitious "100 Year Plan" to save the global environment coordinated by MITI and

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the Keidanren.

It is important to remember an ominous precedent for the business challenge we are now facing from Japan (and Europe) in the market for environmentally efficient products and technologies. What businessmen now refer to as the "Quality Revolution" also began in Japan -- in the late 1960s -- at a time when most leaders of U.S. industry assumed that prevailing market forces had already established the proper level of product quality and that no significant improvement in quality could be attained without a loss of productivity, profits and jobs.

As a result, prominent U.S. experts on improving quality and productivity -- like the legendary Dr. W. Edwards Deming -- found it difficult to gain an audience here at home, and took their insights to Japan instead. The rest is history: Japanese businesses proved that the prevailing American assumptions about product quality were simply wrong. By redesigning the entire production process with greater attention to detail, and with accurate monitoring of efficiency and performance trends, they were able to achieve dramatically higher levels of quality, productivity and profitability -- all at the same time! And before we fully realized the implications of their accomplishment, we were already losing our leadership position in dozens of critical industries, such as televisions, semiconductors and steel -- industries now largely dominated worldwide by Japanese firms.

Some business experts claim that Japanese industry is now poised to replicate their stunning coup in the quality revolution

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with a similar series of breakthroughs in the environmental revolution. For example, Stephan Schmidheiny, the billionaire Swiss industrialist who led the Business Council at the Earth Summit, argues that several of the same U.S. businesses that were wrong about quality improvements are now making the same mistake again by assuming that environmental improvements cannot be economically justified: that we have to choose, in other words, between jobs and the environment.

Many Japanese businesses, by contrast, are again searching for ways to redesign the entire production process, this time with an eye to eliminating unnecessary pollution at every step along the way. What they are finding is that waste in the form of pollution is also economic waste. By eliminating the inefficiencies that lead to the initial production of pollution, they have discovered that it is often possible to simultaneously

To use an analogy: if you are hunting a bear and you go into the woods and don't see the bear, you look for the bear's tracks -- or you use a dog trained to follow the bear's scent. Similarly, if you are an industrialist looking for ways to eliminate inefficiency and you don't see inefficiency in the operations of your factory, you can try to follow its scent or you can look for its tracks. And here is where the need for efficiency and environmental protection intersect: it turns out that pollution is often the best marker by which to identify and eliminate inefficiency. Northern Telecom, for example, a communications manufacturer with a large factory in Nashville,

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set out to be the first in its industry to completely eliminate Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which threaten the stratospheric ozone layer. In the process, they found a cheaper and better way to accomplish the same task (producing clean circuit boards) with higher levels of quality and productivity.

Indeed, there are now so many business success stories illustrating this phenomenon -- in the U.S. as well as in Japan -- that many have come to regard it as the norm rather than the exception.

But there is another aspect of this business phenomenon that is more important than the increased profits which so often accompany the increased efficiency: the effort to creatively reconcile profitability with a larger social good frequently creates a new sense of common purpose within the company -- and a feeling among the employees and managers alike that suddenly their work has new dignity and their lives have new meaning, because they are pursuing not only profits and paychecks (as crucial as they are in and of themselves) but they are now joining in pursuit of a larger goal as well. During visits to such companies, I have seen with my own eyes the mixture of pride and purpose in the faces of men and women who have been challenged by their employers to help complete a mission clearly worthy of their best labors.

I saw and felt the very same sense of common purpose at the Earth Summit. It invigorated those present with a unanimity of resolve. The creative search for more effective ways to reconcile protection of the global environment with the

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imperatives of economic progress provided the participants from every nation with a challenge that most understood to be worthy of their best labors. What so disappointed them about President Bush's performance in Rio was his failure to understand that moral challenge and his deafness to the world's heartfelt cry for leadership from the United States in its effort to organize a worthy and effective response.

That challenge still lies before us, and the sword is still in the stone. How will we -- as a global civilization -- respond? Our circumstances in the aftermath of the Cold War can be said to justify both exhilaration and despair. The Berlin Wall has fallen, and Eastern Europe is free; but cruel and hideous hatreds are rampant, and mass ethnic slaughter has been somehow tolerated by our collective conscience once again. Apartheid is being dismantled; but violence, bloodshed and chaos threaten to claim hope as their next victim. Having been treated to such vivid displays of the best and worst of humankind's rich repertoire of potentials, can we not answer the call to fight for and nurture the best within us? We need leadership to defend our shared heritage and our common future.

As I write these words, I see the first light of dawn from my hotel window in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. I am in the middle of a campaign to change the leadership of our country, but even though this will appear two months after the outcome is known, I do not yet know the result. But I do know that whatever happens in this contest, the larger struggle will continue. Before I became involved in this campaign, and just before I left for the

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Earth Summit last Spring, I helped organize a meeting in Washington of scientists and religious leaders to discuss the global crisis. I want to end this foreword with an excerpt from the statement which emerge from our discussion there:

"We are people of faith and of science who, for centuries, often have traveled different roads. In a time of environmental crisis, we find these roads converging. As this meeting symbolizes, our two ancient, sometimes antagonistic, traditions now reach out to one another in a common endeavor to preserve the home we share."

"We accept our responsibility to help make known to the millions we serve and teach the nature and consequences of the environmental crisis, and what is required to overcome it."

"Despite the seriousness of this crisis, we are hopeful. We humans, in spite of our faults, can be intelligent, resourceful, compassionate, prudent and imaginative. We have access to great reservoirs of moral and spiritual courage. Deep within us stirs a commitment to the health, safety and future of our children. Understanding that the world does not belong to any one nation or generation, and sharing a spirit of utmost urgency, we dedicate ourselves to undertake bold action to cherish and protect the environment of our planetary home."

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AT SENATOR GORE'S REQUEST, I AM FAXING
YOU THE DRAFT OF THE FOREWORD TO THE
PAPERBACK EDITION OF EARTH IN THE BALANCE.

REGARDS,



Pg 1 of 15

FOREWARD

A great many changes have taken place in the United States and throughout the world during the twelve months since this book was first published in hard-cover at the beginning of 1992, but none of them has required any modification of the text for this new edition. Moreover, even though the book has come under vigorous and occasionally vitriolic attack over the past year, principally from those who oppose the sweeping changes in policy it recommends, not a single challenge to the accuracy of its facts or the fairness of its analysis has thus far been sustained. Indeed, quite to the contrary, I have been gratified by the strong support it has received -- from the scientific community and from the general reading public. That is not to say of course, that the highly personal nature of the book and its particular spiritual point of view have not insured that some readers simply disagreed with my premises about such things as the meaning and purpose of life or the relationship between humankind and the earth. But that is neither surprising nor unwelcome. In any event, the purpose of this foreward to the paperback edition is not to qualify anything in the text but rather to add a short discussion of the new events that have unfolded since the book was written which I believe have special relevance to ideas contained in the text.

To begin with, in June of last year, the leaders of almost

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every nation on earth gathered in Rio de Janeiro for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. Popularly known as the "Earth Summit", this meeting was criticized for producing weak and watered-down agreements with few meaningful commitments to change the behavior of nations. But it actually marked an historic turning point in the long struggle to increase international awareness of the true nature of the global environmental crisis, and effectively moved the entire world a long way down the road toward a better understanding of how and why future economic progress is inextricably linked to sound policies promoting protection of the environment and wise stewardship of our natural resources.

Indeed, there is little doubt that a powerful learning experience took place in Rio as leaders from all parts of the world shared a common realization that the particular concerns which had led them to attend the Earth Summit in the first place were actually just different outward manifestations of the same underlying global crisis. The disappearance of the Aral Sea, the burning and clearcutting of the tropical rainforests, the thousand-fold increase in the rate at which living species become extinct, the poisoning of our air and water, global warming and stratospheric ozone depletion -- all were suddenly recognized as being just different pieces of the same puzzle, or to put it another way, different consequences of the same collision between our worldwide civilization and the ecological system of the earth.

This collision is occurring principally because of three

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large changes in the nature of our relationship to the earth: first, the population explosion is now adding the equivalent of China's population every 10 years; second, the scientific and technological revolution has increased our power to manipulate nature and has vastly magnified our ability to have an impact on the world around us; and third, for reasons discussed in Part II of the book, there has been a change in our way of thinking about our relationship to the environment as we have yielded to the intense modern pressures to deny responsibility for the future consequences of our present actions.

The Earth Summit laid the groundwork for important shifts in this way of thinking, and in policies throughout the world designed to stop the destruction of the global ecological system. And even though the formal documents signed at Rio were short on substance, there was a widespread recognition there of a powerful change in thinking which is now underway in both the industrial and the developing countries. Moreover, there was general agreement that this conference would almost certainly turn out to be only the first in what is expected to be a continuing series of worldwide meetings to discuss and implement a new generation of global treaties aimed at promoting sustainable economic progress and healing the relationship between human civilization and the fragile ecological system of the earth.

In addition to the formal meetings of the official delegates, the Earth Summit also featured an incredible variety of less formal opportunities for dialogue among people from every nation on earth. Indeed, in many ways the riches of human

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creativity were on display there: a giant "Tree of Life" was decorated with the heartfelt messages from children around the world, written in crayon on paper leaves; representatives of indigenous peoples like the Kayapao, Yanomami, Inuit and Penan presented songs, dances and impassioned speeches in defense of the endangered remnants of wildness within which their unique and ancient cultures are struggling desperately to survive; scientists displayed stunningly sophisticated and startlingly beautiful computer images of every square inch of the earth -- as seen from space -- with voluminous data describing the damage now taking place on a daily basis; artists crafted spectacular sculptures, paintings, music, graphics and films covering almost every aspect of the eleven day agenda. And they all seemed more alike than different: the indigenous person and the artist, the scientist and the child, the tourist and the diplomat. All seemed to share a deeper understanding -- a recognition that we are all part of something much larger than ourselves, a family related only distantly by blood, but intimately by commitment to each other's common future and to the global environment of which we are all a part.

Ultimately, the Earth Summit turned out to be mainly about that recognition. In much the same way that the first photographs taken of the earth floating above the moon's horizon produced a profound change in the way we pictured this planet in our minds, the Earth Summit has begun to produce a change in the way nations throughout the world picture their relationship and responsibility to each other and the way we think about the

relationship between the economy and the environment.

But if the Earth Summit was a success for the world as a whole, it was a serious setback for our nation. At a crucial moment in history, when the entire rest of the world was requesting and eagerly expecting U.S. leadership -- not to mention vision -- our nation found itself embarrassed and isolated at Rio. Although we were ably represented by a fine delegation of negotiators (headed by EPA Administrator William Reilly), the Bush Administration insisted that our delegation argue in favor of so many nonsensical positions that a deadlock was virtually guaranteed.

This process had actually begun during the preparatory negotiating sessions throughout the two years preceeding the Earth Summit itself. For example, long before the summit, almost every other industrial nation in the world had stated its willingness to set binding targets for reducing and stabilizing carbon dioxide (CO2) emissions. But the Bush administration threatened implicitly to torpedo the entire Earth Summit in order to prevent the adoption of targets and timetables for CO2 reductions. Japan signalled early in the process that although it was willing to adopt targets and timetables, it would eventually follow the U.S. lead on this issue. By contrast, several European nations -- led by Germany -- attempted to pressure and persuade the United States to change its view. In the end, however, the threat of a U.S. decision to pull out of the Earth Summit forced every other industrial nation to acquiesce to the Bush position.

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Stephan Schmidheiny

Some business experts claim that Japanese industry is now poised to replicate their stunning coup in the quality revolution with a similar series of breakthroughs in the environmental revolution. For example, ~~Stefan Schmidt-Heiny~~, the billionaire Swiss industrialist who led the Business Council at the Earth Summit, argues that some of the same U.S. businesses that were wrong about quality improvements are now making the same mistake again by assuming that environmental improvements can only be achieved at the expense of productivity, profitability and jobs.

Many Japanese businesses, by contrast, are again searching for ways to redesign the entire production process, this time with an eye to eliminating unnecessary pollution at every step along the way. And what they are finding is that waste in the form of pollution is also economic waste. By eliminating the inefficiencies that lead to the initial production of pollution, they are finding that it is often possible to simultaneously improve productivity, profits and environmental efficiency. ✓

To use an analogy: if you are hunting a bear and you go into the woods and don't see the bear, you look for the bear's tracks -- or you use a dog trained to follow the bear's scent. Similarly, if you are an industrialist looking for ways to eliminate inefficiency and you go into your factory and don't see the inefficiency, you can try to follow its scent or you can look for its tracks -- and it turns out that pollution is often the best marker by which to identify and eliminate inefficiency.

As a direct consequence, the developing nations of the world abandoned their willingness to negotiate an international treaty to protect endangered rainforests and other fragile ecosystems lying within their national territories. From the beginning they had seen an implicit link between the reduction of CO2 emissions by industrial countries and the protection of forests in tropical countries, so when the U.S. forced the industrial world to abandon any commitment to stabilize CO2 emissions, it simultaneously destroyed any chances for an agreement to protect the rainforests.

These developments had poisoned the atmosphere at Rio before the conference ever began, but there was at least some remaining hope for a separate agreement on protecting "biodiversity" -- that is, measures to slow down the extraordinary increase in the rate of extinction around the world. Here too, the preparatory sessions -- especially the last one, in Nairobi, (less than a month before the Earth Summit), had poisoned the atmosphere because of the intransigence of the Bush administration. But as soon as William Reilly arrived in Rio, he identified a way to resolve the remaining problems with the Biodiversity treaty and save the U.S. (and President Bush) from embarrassment. After clearing his proposed solution with the State Department, the Commerce Department and the rest of the negotiating team, he sent a confidential cable to the White House requesting permission to proceed with the last-minute negotiations necessary to finalize the treaty. But then, just as the Earth Summit began, the Bush White House not only denied Reilly permission to proceed, it

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humiliated him by leaking his memo to the press with statements by unnamed sources ridiculing his efforts. The entire sequence of events created a firestorm of criticism of U.S. policies, and of President Bush, and guaranteed the embarrassment that Reilly had tried hard to avoid. We thus became virtually the only nation in the entire world to refuse to sign one of the major treaties at the Earth Summit.

Our isolation at Rio was especially unfortunate because the Earth Summit represented the first meeting of the entire world community, and marked the emergence of what I refer to in Part Three of this book as the new "central organizing principle" of the Post Cold War World -- namely, the task of protecting the Earth's environment while fostering economic progress. In the aftermath of communism's collapse, the United States is obviously in the preeminent position to lead the world community. The large ideas we have championed -- political and economic freedom -- are ascendant throughout the world; we have earned the moral authority necessary to lead the world; our economy is still twice as large as that of our closest competitor, Japan; and we are the sole remaining superpower.

Consequently, the rest of the world quite naturally expects the United States to offer leadership -- especially in confusing times of transition like these. So the disappointment at Rio was quite keen when the U.S. not only failed to lead but actively fought against needed progress. The mood, however, was one of astonishment and sorrow more than of anger -- at least in part because of a widespread recognition that the views of the Bush

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Administration were not those of the American people. And sure enough, every public opinion poll which has asked the question has found that Americans want our nation to lead the world community on this issue more than on any other. And in conversations throughout the United States, I have found confirmation that our people are quite determined to see that our nation does offer leadership on the environment -- with vision, courage and a real commitment to the future -- because they are convinced it is the right thing to do.

There is, however, a second powerful reason explaining their determination to see U.S. leadership on the environment: they are also convinced that it is in our economic interest. By overwhelming majorities, the American people reject the argument proffered during the Bush Administration that we must choose between jobs and the environment. They believe instead that we can prosper by leading the environmental revolution and producing for the world marketplace the new products and technologies that foster economic progress without environmental destruction.

I think they're right. In fact, Japan and Germany have been openly proclaiming that these new and more efficient products that minimize environmental damage now represent the biggest new market in the history of world business.

While the Earth Summit was underway in Rio, a parallel exhibition of new environmental technologies was staged in Sao Paulo. And the contrast was striking between the tiny U.S. exhibit -- made up of a handful of small businesses selling such wares as pipe connectors and dosimeters -- and the enormous,

highly sophisticated Japanese effort -- made up of hundreds of exhibits by businesses representing every sector of the Japanese economy, all working together within the framework of an ambitious "100 Year Plan" coordinated by MITI and the Keidanren.

It is important to remember that there is an ominous precedent for the business challenge we are now facing from Japan (and Europe) in the market for environmentally efficient products and technologies. What businessmen now refer to as the "Quality Revolution" also began in Japan -- in the late 1960's -- at a time when most leaders of U.S. industry assumed that prevailing market forces had already established the proper level of product quality and that no significant improvement in quality could be attained without a loss of productivity, profits and jobs. As a result, prominent U.S. experts on improving quality and productivity -- like the legendary Arthur Deming -- found it difficult to gain an audience here at home, and took their insights to Japan instead. The rest is history: Japanese businesses proved that the prevailing American assumptions about product quality were simply wrong. By redesigning the entire production process with greater attention to detail, and with accurate monitoring of efficiency and performance trends, they were able to achieve dramatically higher levels of quality, productivity and profitability -- all at the same time! And before we fully realized the implications of their accomplishment, we were already losing our leadership position in dozens of critical industries, industries now dominated by Japanese firms.

Ch u / book
reviews

Albert Gore, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992. 408 pp., \$22.95

Reviewed by Theodore Roszak

Books by prominent public figures usually get slotted into a special, condescending category. Reviewers often expect to find little more in them than inside dope about the political process or tidbits of gossip gleaned from the corridors of power. In short, they are not taken seriously as *books*. Senator Al Gore's *Earth in the Balance* ranks as an exception. The senator offers plenty of the insights and anecdotes available only to seasoned players on the Washington scene; he traces the deceptive twists and turns of the Bush administration's environmental policies, naming names and assigning blame. But his book is also a solid intellectual achievement, a work many scholars and environmental specialists might be proud to author.

Gore has embedded years of reading, thought, and legislative savvy in this volume. Above all, he has put his heart into it, defending a cause that he obviously holds dear. In 1988 he made a run for the presidency. At the time, he gambled on the hope that a strong environmental position might win him the White House. He is frank to say he misjudged the popular appeal of issues like the greenhouse effect and thinning ozone. But his political disappointment has not led him to abandon his environmental concerns. On the contrary. From his failed campaign, he has salvaged a noble purpose in whose service he now offers one of the few books that manages to treat the environmental crisis with the complexity it deserves and on the scale it demands.

Gore's range is remarkable. If it offered nothing more, *Earth in the Balance* would make a handy, nearly encyclopedic compendium of environmental problems. It is freighted with authoritative analyses of biospheric damage, some of them compiled from the Senator's own junkets to inspect the devastation of the rainforests, the game parks of Africa, the expansion of the ozone hole above Antarctica. But *Earth in the Balance* reaches well beyond mere reportage and exposition. The intellectual meat of the book lies in the ethical issues and philosophical conundra it explores. These Gore handles with admirable complexity and sophistication; he has read up on his sprawling subject and sought out the best minds. There are not many American politicians who can refer knowledgeably to the writings of Merleau-Ponty, Hannah Arendt, Gregory Bateson.

Roszak reviews Gore, *Earth in the Balance*

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The breadth of his approach prevents Gore from settling for what other politicians might take to be adequate: purely economic adjustments and technological fixes. Though economic policy and technology (especially appropriate technology) come in for extensive discussion in the book, Gore recognizes that many environmental issues have to be treated holistically on the level of conscience and consciousness as much as money and machinery. For example, his recommendations for population policy (the highest priority in his global program) acknowledges that the education and liberation of women are fully as important as the distribution of contraceptives. The subtitle of his book (*Ecology and the Human Spirit*) is intended to emphasize the importance of such "spiritual" factors as the "values and assumptions that determine our basic understanding of how we fit into the universe."

This leads him into searching discussions of Judeo-Christian theology, Cartesian dualism, Newtonian science, planetary stewardship, the Social Gospel, the Gaia hypothesis, ecofeminism, deep ecology. He surveys these potentially unwieldy materials with skill and weaves them neatly into his argument. The big finish toward which he builds is the call for a "global Marshall Plan," undertaken in the post-Cold War era even greater urgency and financial resources than the original. In hands other than those of a practical politician an appeal like this might become a wishlist of painful improbabilities. But Gore means to be effective, bringing his special experience as a law-maker to bear for all it is worth. As a senator, he has known what it is like to face intractable political choices. He relates, for example, how, as a member of the Southern farm bloc in Congress, he has had to struggle with corn syrup lobbyists in his state over sugar subsidies, a seemingly minor issue that nevertheless relates directly to the devastation of the Everglades in Florida. Those of us who are used to thinking and writing about environmental affairs at a loftier level might learn a few valuable lessons from Gore about the nitty-gritty of real-life decision-making.

The final chapters of the book brim with bright ideas that seek to translate Gore's high-level analysis into a comprehensive program. There is almost too much here to take in: tax incentives, export controls, forestry policy, waste reduction and recycling proposals, CO₂ taxes, electrical cogeneration, virgin materials fees ... There is even a discussion of energy-saving light bulbs and how to market them more efficiently. Among the bigger ideas is a new global accounting system ("eco-nomics") that includes such factors as sustainability and environmental restoration in the calculation of GNP. Gore presents it all with the zest and conviction of a professional politician out to make things happen and get things done. It is a dazzlingly meticulous array of schemes and solutions; reading through it makes for a welcome

Roszak review/Gore, Earth in the Balance

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antidote to the steady diet of gloom and doom we usually expect from environmental studies.

It should be noted that throughout his presentation Gore displays a commendable awareness of First World-Third World asymmetries in development. He does not flinch from raising the tough question of international fairness. "The promotion of justice and the protection of the environmental must go hand in hand in any society, whether in the context of a nation's domestic policies or in the design of 'North-South' agreements between the industrial nations and the Third World." So, for example, he endorses "debt-for-nature" swaps.

One may disagree with this or that about Gore's approach, but taken as a whole, his book serves as a model for the politically relevant, comprehensive discussion of environmental policy. The man has mapped the terrain, drawing in philosophy as well as science, religion and ethics as well as economics. I expect to go back to this book for facts, ideas, political insights, but above all to remind myself that there are still those working on environmental issues who believe there is cause to hope.

Theodore Roszak is Professor of History at California State University, Hayward. His latest book is *The Voice of the Earth*, to be published by Simon and Schuster in June.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

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A politics for the planet

JONATHON PORRITT

If the opinion polls are more accurate in America than they are in Britain, in November Al Gore may become Vice-President of the United States. That in itself is a startling thought, but in order to know just how startling it is, it is necessary to read his new book *Earth in the Balance: Forging a new common purpose*. This is not merely another book about the environment. It is as much about economics and technology, values and spirituality, as about global warming or recycling. And it is personal, anecdotal and passionate. It is, in fact, by far the best book of its kind by a serving politician that I have read. Politicians on the whole only dare voice radical and visionary ideas when they have relinquished the levers of power. Those who try to tell the truth about the environment when they are still in office end up like the former Prime Minister of Norway, Mrs Brundtland, mouthing global rhetoric while licensing the slaughter of whales in her own territorial waters.

Even if he had not been chosen by Bill Clinton as his running mate, Gore's long-term political aspirations were lofty. His experience as a presidential candidate for the Democrats in 1988 was clearly a bruising one, not least because he discovered the hard way that the majority of Americans are completely uninterested in the global environment. But he had already been tipped as a potential front runner for 1996, and was said to be biding his time.

In 1989, his son was nearly killed in a road accident. And, he has said, for many months, "our lives were completely consumed with the struggle to restore his body and spirit. And for me, something changed in a fundamental way." Instead of resignedly or even cynically giving up his main concerns, he redoubled his efforts to bring them to the attention of the Democrats in particular and the American public in general. *Earth in the Balance* is the product of that emotional and political crisis.

Amazingly, Senator Gore keeps his political balance throughout the book. A Southern Democrat, in the Jeffersonian mould; a passionate advocate of the free market and entrepreneurial creativity; an unapologetic patriot, a conventional and committed Baptist. It all makes a somewhat untypical mix of attributes for green evangelism. But as a political *cri de coeur*, it works well. Whether it will do much for the Democrats' election effort is questionable. Gore has already been attacked by George Bush's "clean" campaigners as "an environmental extremist", a "prairie fairy", and even "a fern-feeler". In an election that is predominantly about budget deficits, jobs, backyard issues and restoring "America's greatness" it may seem at first sight as if *Earth in the Balance* could become a liability rather than an important political manifesto for change. Herein, claim some of the pundits, lies Gore's vulnerability. But there is a paradox to which Gore would seem to be far more sensitively attuned than his crasser Republican critics. The polls do indeed show that the average American wants his or her President to concentrate primarily on domestic rather than international issues. Things are hurting too much at home to allow the pain of others (be it in Bosnia or in Somalia) to impinge directly on voting intentions. But the average American also wants America to remain the leader of the free world, to use its "sole superpower status" actively and constructively.

Gore is very strong on the responsibilities of leadership, castigating Bush for his well-known inertia, and his self-confessed problem with "the vision thing". Quoting a post-Gulf War poll which demonstrated that 93 per cent of Americans supported a proposal "for the US to get other coun-

Al Gore

EARTH IN THE BALANCE
Forging a new common purpose
407pp Earthscan. Paperback, £14.95.
1 85383 1379

tries to join together to take action against world environmental problems", he argues that it is only America which can shoulder this burden. Having realized in 1988 that there is currently not much to be gained from altruism or even enlightened self-interest on behalf of the planet, he has cleverly re-worked a strand of almost redneck chauvinism in order to persuade Americans to share his vision.

Inevitably, there is a price to be paid for such an approach. There are several contentious issues which he has deliberately not engaged with, even though they link directly to his core theme ("We must make the rescue of the environment the central organising principle for civilisation"): the role of the military and the grotesque waste of resources on arms budgets; the putative guilt of transnational corporations in laying waste the environment; the unyielding challenge of equity and the obvious fact that sustainable development is a lethal illusion unless premised on a dramatic narrowing of current wealth differentials. Gore knows all this perfectly well, but he sees his main task as one of persuasion. And that means accepting the current situation for what it is rather than what it might be. In that respect, green fundamentalism is about as appealing to him as godless materialism. His analysis of just how much people today will or will not accept seems absolutely right:

While public acceptance of the magnitude of the threat is indeed curving upward – and will



Al Gore

eventually rise almost vertically as awareness of the awful truth suddenly makes search for remedies an all-consuming passion—it is just as important to recognise that at the present time, we're still in a period when the curve is just starting to bend. Ironically, at this stage, the maximum that is politically feasible still falls short of the minimum that is truly effective.

many unreconstructed environmentalists, Gore

long ago realized that endless threats of imminent eco-apocalypse stir few of us. He addresses himself rather to the phenomenon of "denial": why it is that millions of people refuse to read the writing on the wall. Though his presentation of the key environmental issues is extremely sound, he deals with them primarily as symptoms of our "dysfunctional civilisation", the inevitable consequences of centuries of psychic pain caused by our alienation from the living world. The ecological crisis is for him primarily a crisis of values.

Atheists, anarchists and secularists will probably lose interest at this point. *Earth in the Balance* is a deeply spiritual book. As a Baptist, Gore feels that the duty of stewardship laid on us by a Creator God is one that demands specific personal and political choices. "How can one glorify the Creator while heaping contempt on the creation? How can one walk humbly with nature's God while wreaking havoc on nature?" And indeed, no one can accuse Gore of being short on "the vision thing". His historical grasp of how we've ended up with a value system that now serves us so poorly is impressive, and he handles concerns of the mind and the spirit (that remain prohibited areas for most politicians) with directness and integrity.

Only after these concerns have been addressed, and the characteristics of our dysfunctional civilization incisively analysed, does Gore choose to drop his policy bombshell: a global "Marshall Plan" for the environment. Political ideas are seldom more grandiose than this, and his Republican opponents are already having as much fun costing it as the Conservatives in Britain did costing the Labour Party's manifesto. But many commentators are beginning to see in Gore's detailed policies exactly the kind of market-led, innovative and strategic thinking that might just possibly rescue contemporary capitalism from its own inherent destructiveness.

All sorts of environmentalists will have reservations about aspects of Gore's arguments. But it is heartening to see ideas of this nature and quality emerging from the American political establishment, and it there is indeed a future for the Democratic Party it is surely to be found somewhere in these pages. Both Labour and Conservative politicians might well ask themselves how much of it would translate across the Atlantic. Sadly, there is hardly a leading politician in Britain who could write a book of similar authority on this subject. There is much that they can learn from reading *Earth in the Balance*.

Diseases of modernity

STUART SUTHERLAND

Jean Chesneaux

BRAVE MODERN WORLD
The prospects for survival

Translated from the French by Diana Johnstone,
Karen Bowie and Francisca Garvie
191pp. Thames and Hudson, £15.95.
0 500 01531 7

the worst. Again, he rants about the regimented life of factory workers without attempting to compare it to the lonely and repetitive drudgery of a Victorian farm-hand as described, for example, by Ronald Blythe in *Akenfield*.

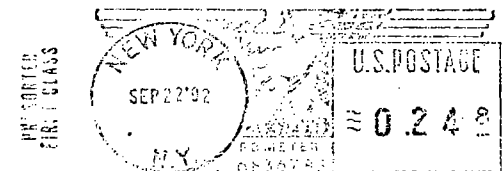
Many of Chesneaux's ideas are splendidly dotty. He claims that because French railway maps represent routes by straight lines (an invention of the London Underground), people have lost all sense of space. Equally, because

digital watches no longer show "time as something that lasts", we have apparently lost all sense of time. He excoriates television, on the grounds that it may take months to produce a show, which is then buried and forgotten, but he forgets that a theatrical production is seen by far fewer people and once it closes can never be reinstated. For reasons that are unclear, he even lambastes the inoffensive word-processor. And he attacks nuclear power without even considering whether it has killed or is even likely to kill more people than do fossil fuels per kilowatt of energy produced.

It is a pity that Chesneaux persistently uses assertion rather than argument, for in his less fanciful moments what he has to say is important. It is also a pity that at no point does he consider how it might be possible to stop or reverse the growth of the global economy. He acknowledges the "Green Revolution", but seems to believe that all governments are controlled by transnational firms. Yet Western governments are surely more altruistic in their aid to underprivileged countries than any state has been at any previous period of history. He argues that, as in the case of "cash crops", such as groundnuts, their aid often does more harm than good, and that it is always motivated by economic reasons, but surely the West's intervention in Sarajevo or the attempt to stave off famine in Ethiopia were undertaken on purely humanitarian grounds. It could be maintained that the West often does the wrong thing for the right reasons; a more carefully argued book might have helped to persuade the Western world to start doing the right thing for the right reason.

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Environmental Politics

Book by Gore Could Become a Campaign Iss

By KEITH SCHNEIDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 26 — Senator Al Gore published a best-selling book seven months ago that is the most graphic analysis of the world's environmental condition and the most advanced plan for economic solutions that has ever been written by an American politician.

Reviews at the time were favorable, commending the book's "thoughtfulness" and "style."

But in the days since the Tennessee Democrat was nominated to be Gov. Bill Clinton's running mate, the book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit" (Houghton Mifflin), has come under a new wave of scrutiny, not least from the Bush-Quayle campaign.

Its call for new taxes, new government environmental programs and a new philosophy for how humanity regards the environment and the economy could make the book one of the political classics of its time. It could also become a valuable weapon for the Republicans.

May Stir Wide Debate

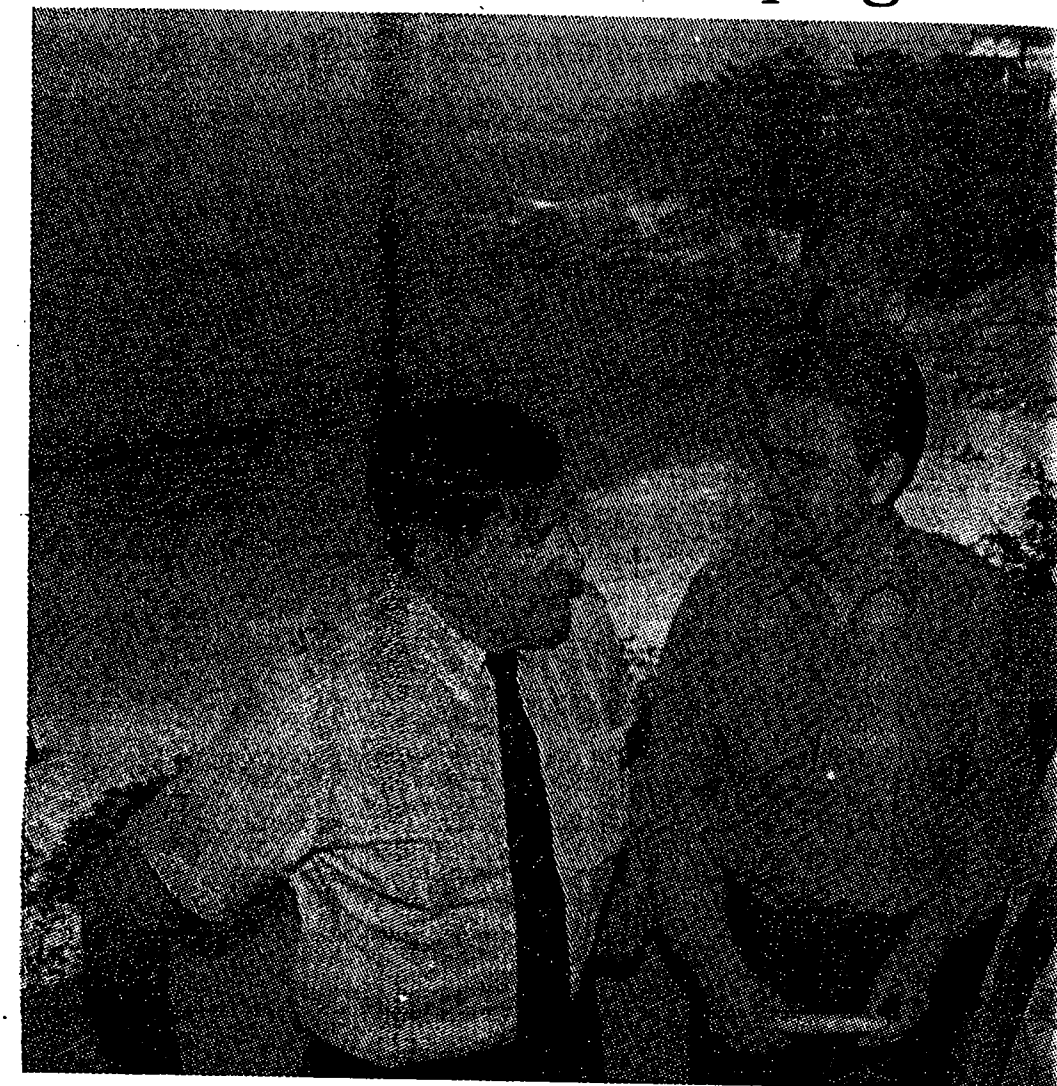
At the very least, the book seems likely to prompt the first full-throated debate at the Presidential level on whether trade-offs are necessary to balance the health of the economy and the environment. Environmentalists and many scientists are embracing the book as a breakthrough in fresh thinking; some economists and other scientists are attacking it as scientifically specious, economically dangerous and directly contradictory to the Democratic platform extolling jobs and economic growth.

Torie Clarke, the spokeswoman for the Bush-Quayle re-election campaign, said today that the campaign saw the book's pointed recommendations for new taxes on coal and oil, more foreign aid and more governmental action to curb global environmental deterioration as weapons.

"For starters," she said, "Gore should have spent less of the taxpayers' time and money on his own book and a little bit more time on legislation. We have taken a look at his legislative record as a Senator. We found two pieces of his legislation that have been approved. One is an Earth Day proclamation, and the other is a resolution of encouragement to Antarctic treaty negotiators."

Fat Cats and Smokestacks

Mr. Gore fired back today in a telephone interview. "They are in a state of extraordinary political panic," he said. "The American people are fed up with the Bush-Quayle approach of responding to only the wealthy privileged few, and that is especially true of the environment. They couldn't care less about the people who live downwind of pollution. They only care about the fat cat



Senator Al Gore's book on the environment has come under new scrutiny since he became Gov. Clinton's running mate. He is seen here June with Senator H. John Chafee, left, Republican of Rhode Island, and William K. Reilly,

changing attitudes. The current view, that the environment is a marginal issue with economic needs taking precedence, must be radically altered, the book says. Instead, Mr. Gore says, the ecosystem must be seen as the foundation on which the economy will flourish or perish in the 21st century.

Such a notion turns traditional Western thinking on its head. For centuries, man's dominion over earth, and the exploitation of resources to develop ever more powerful and efficient technologies, has been seen as the engine that drives civilization. Mr. Gore urges the world to become "sufficiently aroused by a shared sense of urgent danger" to reverse this "logic of world civilization."

"As long as civilization as a whole, with its vast technological power, continues to follow a pattern of thinking that encourages the domination and exploitation of the natural world for

on the edge of calamity.

"It's wrong on many counts, and he should know better because we have told him so," said Dr. Singer, who is one of the leaders of a group of American scientists who discount the threat from global climate change. "On global warming, as far as we can tell from surveys we have done, the scientific community is not in agreement with him. The majority feels that this is a problem that needs to be watched, but there is no immediate danger."

Survey Shows Divisions

A survey of climate scientists earlier this year by Greenpeace, the international environmental group, found those who responded about evenly divided. When asked whether current policies "run a serious risk of instigating a runaway greenhouse effect," 47 percent of 113 scientists answering said "probably not." Forty-five percent replied "probably" or "possibly." The survey did not reflect the consid-

Mr. Gore disagreed with the interpretation today. "I'm assessing of any technology developed with public funds. I am I calling for any government role for the private sector."

Jonathan Adler, a senior fellow at the institute, added "I think that every problem needs a program. I criticized the nation's inaction for big public programs, especially Superfund program for worst toxic waste sites."

Mr. Gore responded by advocating "large centennial programs that we

BIG GREEN

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ronment. They couldn't care less about the people who live downwind of pollution. They only care about the fat cat who owns the smokestack."

In the coming weeks, the debate will be no less contentious, but it could become more substantive. The reason is that in "Earth in the Balance" the author describes being a "witness to humankind's assault on the earth" and offers solutions that are much more specific and trenchant than is usual in books from political leaders.

The thesis of Mr. Gore's book is that a "global ecological crisis" spells a catastrophe for civilization unless prompt action is taken. He proposes three paths: new market incentives, new government programs and a new philosophy to define mankind's relationship with nature.

First, Mr. Gore proposes new taxes on oil, coal, minerals, wood and other "virgin materials" to curtail global warming, deforestation and misuse of land by mining. He proposes to offset the tax increases, and thus the probable rise in the price of energy and materials, by lowering income taxes.

New Network of Incentives

The result would be a new system of economic incentives. Taxes would be increased for environmentally destructive activities and reduced for economically constructive activities like work and saving.

Where incentives did not work, government action would, he says. Mr. Gore calls for new global environmental regulations to protect resources, programs to stabilize population, new environmental treaties, new means for assessing technologies on the basis of their risk to health and the environment, phasing out internal-combustion engines within 25 years and a host of other government actions.

The third path he proposes involves

exploitation of the natural world for

Do the Senator's words make a political classic, a weapon or both?

short-term gains, this juggernaut will continue to devastate the earth no matter what any of us does," he writes. "I have come to believe that we must take bold and unequivocal action: we must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization."

Praise and Counterattack

Mr. Gore's views are "beyond anything we are hearing now in political dialogue," said Jeremy Rifkin, president of the Foundation on Economic Trends, an environmental group in Washington, whose books on philosophy and nature have influenced Mr. Gore. "If we are to take this analysis and blueprint seriously, it portends a revolutionary change in political outlook in the 21st century. It's one I think the younger generation will flock to."

But some scientists, economists and conservative political groups have begun a counterattack intended to prevent the book from moving from the edges of national politics to its center.

Dr. S. Fred Singer, an atmospheric and space physicist who is a professor of environmental science at the University of Virginia, said Mr. Gore had "exaggerated" the threat from global climate change, and that "many" in the scientific community simply do not agree with his thesis that the earth is

The survey did not reflect the considerable causes for concern outlined by a succession of international and national scientific panels over the last few years. In 1990, an international panel of scientists convened by the United Nations reported that the earth has warmed about 1 degree Fahrenheit over the last century as levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere increased by 25 percent.

The panel said if carbon dioxide, methane and other "greenhouse gases" were not controlled, average global temperatures could increase 3 to 8 degrees Fahrenheit in the 21st century, causing flooding from the melting of polar ice, food production failures and other environmental havoc.

The National Academy of Sciences in 1991 urged the Bush Administration to act promptly to reduce the threat of global warming, including raising automobile fuel efficiency standards and improving energy requirements for buildings and appliances.

"Among the people I work with, we all think global warming is a threat," said Dr. Edward Dlugokencky, an atmospheric chemist at the University of Colorado in Boulder. "Those who think it is not represent a minority view in the scientific community."

Conservative public policy groups have also attacked Senator Gore's book. Fred Smith, the president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a free-market policy group in Washington, said the book held a basic contradiction with the Clinton-Gore campaign message of new jobs, new technologies and change. "This book says that before we let new technology happen, we need to look at the risk," said Mr. Smith. "Doesn't that mean slower introductions of technology, slower job growth and economic stagnation?"

The Media

Even in College, Gore Watched the Camera

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 26 — It should come as no surprise that Senator Al Gore won high marks for his skill at playing to the cameras on his maiden tour as the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee.

Long before he was elected to Congress in 1976, long before he became a newspaper reporter, Mr. Gore studied television and the Presidency. In 1969, Mr. Gore seized on the topic for his senior thesis at Harvard College: "The Impact of Television on the Conduct of the Presidency, 1947-1969."

Earlier Politicians Recalled

Mr. Gore recounted how television had strengthened the Presidency. He emphasized how John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson had turned to journalists in television and the press to cultivate their

images.

Even as a college student, Mr. Gore was making judgments on White House news media strategies. "President Johnson did not seem to come across on television," he wrote.

Mr. Gore warned that Presidents could suffer if they appeared on television too much.

Fear of overexposure, he noted, was why Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's news media consultant waited until the final weeks of the 1968 Presidential campaign to begin buying time for television advertisements. (The Clinton-Gore campaign, enjoying free publicity after the Democratic convention, is not rushing to buy television commercial time either.)

He also noted that President Nixon was experimenting with question-and-answer forums with ordinary people — something that has become especially popular in

this year's campaign.

"Whether or not these new techniques will survive, and whether Nixon will 'pass the test' of the televised press conference, remains to be seen," Mr. Gore wrote.

The people he interviewed for the thesis included James C. Hagerty, who was President Dwight D. Eisenhower's press secretary; Herbert G. Klein, Mr. Nixon's communications director; Bill Moyers, Mr. Johnson's press secretary; James Reston, who was executive editor of The New York Times; Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who was special assistant to President Kennedy, and Jack Valenti, a special assistant to President Johnson.

The thesis was thorough and relatively well written, but he misspelled the last names of both Chet Huntley and David Brinkley. Even so, Mr. Gore received the highest mark.

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1. The first step is to identify the problem. In this case, the problem is that the system is not working properly.

2. The next step is to gather information about the problem. This includes checking the logs, looking at the error messages, and talking to the users.

3. Once you have gathered information, you can start to troubleshoot the problem. This involves testing different hypotheses and seeing if they solve the problem.

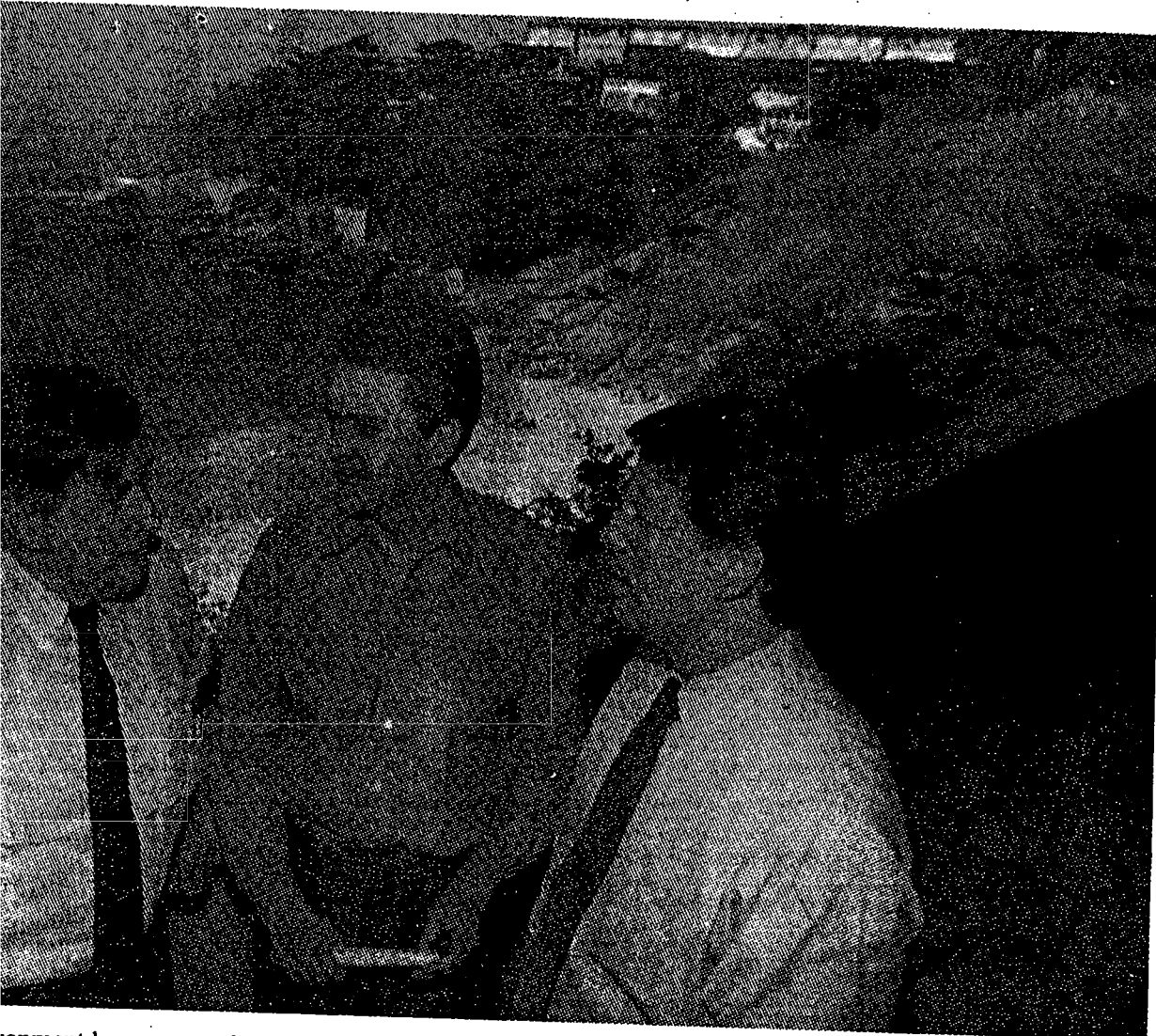
4. If you find a solution, you should document it so that you can refer back to it in the future.

5. Finally, you should communicate the results of your troubleshooting to the users and let them know that the problem has been solved.

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...ome a Campaign Issue, for Both Sides



Associated Press

Environment has come under new scrutiny since he became Gov. Bill Clinton's running mate. Mr. Gore talked in left, Republican of Rhode Island, and William K. Reilly, head of the Environmental Protection Agency.

on the edge of calamity. "It's wrong on many counts, and he should know better because we have told him so," said Dr. Singer, who is one of the leaders of a group of American scientists who discount the threat from global climate change. "On global warming, as far as we can tell from surveys we have done, the scientific community is not in agreement with him. The majority feels that this is a problem that needs to be watched, but there is no immediate danger."

Survey Shows Divisions

A survey of climate scientists earlier this year by Greenpeace, the international environmental group, found those who responded about evenly divided. When asked whether current policies "run a serious risk of instigating a runaway greenhouse effect," 47 percent of 113 scientists answering said "probably not." Forty-five percent replied "probably" or "possibly." The survey did not reflect the considerable causes for concern outlined by a succession of international and national scientific panels over the last few years. In 1990, an international panel of scientists convened by the United Nations reported that the earth has warmed about 1 degree Fahrenheit over the last century as levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere increased by 25 percent. The panel said if carbon dioxide

Mr. Gore disagreed with this interpretation today. "I'm advocating the assessment of any technologies developed with public funds, but in no way am I calling for any government gatekeeper role for the private sector," he said.

Jonathan Adler, a staff member of the institute, added that Mr. Gore "thinks that every environmental problem needs a program." Mr. Adler criticized the nation's record of management for big public environmental programs, especially the one most closely associated with Mr. Gore, the Superfund program for cleaning up worst toxic waste sites.

Mr. Gore responded that he did not advocate "large centralized government programs that were the hallmark

of government in the past." He added, "These initiatives are precise, carefully targeted and designed to stimulate a shift in approach and to provide new incentives."

Mr. Gore said current policies "are costing the United States millions of jobs by pretending that our strategy should be to protect the old polluting, inefficient ways of the past."

"This is coming at a time when Japan and now Germany are openly saying that the biggest new market in the history of world business is the market for new technologies and processes that foster economic progress without environmental destruction," Mr. Gore said, terming the Administration's view "a real head-in-the-sand approach."

On the Trail

BUSH FINDS WAY TO DISCUSS ANTI-DRUG FIGHT ON TV

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 26 — months, President Bush and aides have complained that could not get enough television time to talk about domestic issues. Today, he found a way.

Arriving at the White House in his Marine helicopter, Mr. Bush strode up to a lectern where he was to deliver a statement on Iraq. Some television networks were carrying the event live as Mr. Bush began talking — about drugs.

"In addition to yesterday's meeting with our national security advisers on the situation in Iraq, which has been widely reported, I spent considerable time today reviewing the anti-drug fight in our communities," Mr. Bush said. The President said two studies showed drug use among teen-agers had dropped.

Then he talked about Saddam Hussein.

CLINTON URGES U.S. TO KEEP PRESSING IRAQ

Special to The New York Times

SEATTLE, July 26 — Gov. Bill Clinton said today that the United States should continue pressing Iraq to comply with all provisions of the United Nations cease-fire agreement and that the Bush Administration had offered to brief him on the subject.

He called Iraq's agreement today to allow United Nations inspections "a good first step" in resolving the crisis and said his staff would try to schedule a Administration briefing.

GORE, CAMPAIGNING ALONE ATTACKS BUSH IN VIRGINIA

Special to The New York Times

ROSSLYN, Va., July 26 — Senator Al Gore, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, hit the campaign trail alone today for the first time. At a rally here to observe the implementation of the Americans With Disabilities Act, the Tennessee Senator accused President Bush of ignoring the needs of people with physical and mental disabilities.

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What is the agreement?

Environmentalists For



file book

Contact: Molly Olson
Brooks Yeager
(202)466-8154

National Advisory Committee

FACT SHEET: RESPONSES TO
"EARTH IN THE BALANCE" ATTACKS.

Lee Botts

Senator Al Gore's book has been the focus of attacks from Republican spokesmen and some right-wing policy groups. These attacks ignore the strong scientific support for both the substance and the overall premise of the book, which acknowledges the global threats to the environment and the urgent need to address these problems.

Joan Campbell

Ben Chavis

Michael L. Fischer

Denis Hayes

Please use this material as best you can to counter any attacks to the strong enlightened environmental approach of the Clinton/Gore ticket.

Roger P. Hoffman

Jim Madly

THE POSITIVE

Wilma Mankiller

The book is highly regarded as a thoughtful and moderate analysis of the environmental problems facing America and the world today, and suggests some needed solutions.

Gaylord Nelson

Russell W. Peterson

Steven C. Rockefeller

Senator Gore, far from writing a prescription for economic decline in America, has highlighted the vital link between a healthy and clean environment, jobs growth and quality of life.

John J. Sheehan

Cathleen Douglas Stone

The book's message is a comprehensive statement for the future, proposing real solutions that will lead to a safer environment, to a more competitive America, and to a better quality of life for our children.

Susie Tompkins

Bailus Walker, Jr.

Edward O. Wilson

The book is courageous - not since Theodore Roosevelt and Thomas Jefferson has a national statesman devoted such an effort to determining how our advancing civilization can be reconciled with the needs of nature. It is an honest, tough-minded account of how to deal with environmental crises.

Brooks B. Yeager
Coordinator

QUOTES OF SUPPORT FROM EMINENT AMERICANS

Dr. Edward O. Wilson, Professor of Harvard University and Pulitzer Prize winner for his writings on endangered species has said:

"The scientific basis of Senator Gore's book 'Earth in the Balance' is sound and its messages well over due. It is indeed disappointing that America's current political leaders have failed to come to grips with the very real environmental threats which face not only humans but every other living species on this planet." [personal communication, 18th October 1992]

Dr. John P. Holdren, Professor of Energy, at the University of California, Berkeley, former Chairman of the Federation of American Scientists and member of the National Academy of Sciences has said:

"The central reality of our environment predicament--recognized by nearly all environmental scientists and by Senator Gore, but evidently not by his critics -- is that humans have become powerful enough to wreck the environment before becoming smart enough or rich enough to be able to engineer replacements for the crucial services the environment provides."

"There is no significant scientific doubt that human activities have increased the global atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide, a 'greenhouse' gas crucial to processes that govern climate, by more than 25 percent since preindustrial times; no significant scientific doubt that stratospheric ozone depletion is real, caused by humans, and dangerous to the health of humans and ecosystems; no significant scientific doubt that human sources of toxic metals and hydrocarbons in the atmosphere, oil in the oceans, and acids falling on the forests are at least comparable to and often much greater than the natural sources of these substances worldwide. Assertions to the contrary are pure antiscientific bunkum," says Professor Holdren. [Letter to the Office of Senator Tim Wirth, 7th September 1992]

Dr. Russell Peterson, former republican Governor of Delaware, and head of the President Nixon and Ford's Council on Environmental Quality says:

"Senator Gore's book is a moderate and realistic assessment of the environmental problems of America and the world, which we must urgently face for the sake of the future of America's economy and our children's health and well being."

"Those that call this book extremist, ignore and distort the overwhelming weight of scientific evidence that supports Senator Gore's views. In fact, it is refreshing to see a politician such as Senator Gore, being prepared to openly and honestly discuss positive solutions the very real environmental problems we face."

"President Bush and Quayle call the Clinton/Gore team environmental extremists. I ask you - who are the extremists? Clinton/Gore who are in tune with the 80 - 90% of the American population who are demanding their air, water, land and other species be protected, or Bush and Quayle who belittle the environment at every opportunity." [Peterson - personal communication 18th October 1992, and available for interviews].

Carl Sagan says "A global environmental crisis threatens to overwhelm our children's generation. Mitigating the crisis will require a planetary perspective, long-term thinking, political courage and savvy, eloquence and leadership - all of which are in evidence in Al Gore's landmark book." ["Earth In The Balance" book cover 1992]

RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC CRITICISMS

Claim 1: In the Vice-Presidential debate Quayle charged that on page 304 Gore said that he wants the U.S. to spend \$100 billion a year on foreign environmental aid.

Response: This is incorrect. Gore does propose a "global Marshall Fund," lead by the United States, to clean up industrialised nations and help the Third World avoid the environmental excesses of development, but does not specify a funding level from the US. In fact, Gore specifically recognizes that the U.S., in its current economic condition, would be unable to accomplish such a project by itself.

The idea is modelled after the US program to rebuild Europe after World War II. The "Marshall Plan" amounted to 2 percent of U.S. gross national product between 1948 and 1951, which Gore notes would be \$100 billion a year at the same percentage of GNP today - but he does not specifically suggest such a spending level in environmental assistance for the Third World.

Claim 2: Al Gore is a radical or extremist environmentalist who wants to change the very fabric of American society.

Response: Note and use the above eminent scientist quotes.

Claim 3: He hasn't got his facts right, and is being alarmist ('Apocalypse Now', 'Senator Doom', etc).

Response: Al Gore's views echo current mainstream scientific views. In the area most frequently challenged, that of the severity of the threat of global warming, he is supported by the most eminent scientific groups, including the National Academy of Sciences and the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) Scientific Committee. There is usually some dissension in the scientific community on any issue, but in relation to the 'greenhouse effect' and 'ozone layer depletion' Al Gore's views are shared by the vast majority of the scientific community. (Refer to and quote Professor Holdren above.)

Claim 4: Gore advocates environmental solutions that will give up American jobs, decimate the U.S. auto industry, and destroy the economy.

Response: Achieving a clean and healthy environment will generate American jobs and assist the economy. Both Japan and Germany are cultivating what they believe will be a massive market for new technologies for renewable energy and environmentally benign processes. America will be in a worsening competitive position if it continues to lag behind environmentally aware economies.

Time Magazine recently reported that improving fuel economy to 40 mpg. would lead to a net gain of over 70,000 jobs by the year 2000, according to the independent American Council for an Energy Efficient Economy.

And maybe we should listen to our competitors: Nobuhiko Kawamoto, Honda's new president, says: "If a maer doesn't build more efficient cars, it can't survive." (Business Week, April 8, 1991).

A recent study by Prof. Stephen Meyer of MIT exposes as myth the view that environmental considerations are at odds with economic growth. The study surveyed a range of jobs data, economic indicators, and environmental regulations between 1970 and 1990, and found that the states with the greatest economic and jobs growth were the first to adopt environmental regulations.

Claim 5: He favors the spotted owl over jobs.

Response: Bush/Quayle have attempted to divide Americans by falsely painting issues like the spotted owl as jobs verses the environment. As Gore says, "if the remaining 10 percent of old-growth forest is logged out, as the timber industry prefers, the jobs will be lost anyway. The only question is whether the effort to create new jobs will begin now or later, after the forest is completely gone." add fuel to a fire!).

AND DON'T FORGET THE FAILED POLICIES OF BUSH/QUAYLE

Media responses should also mention the failed environmental and economic policies of the Bush Presidency. Please refer to previously circulated document (5 October) "George Bushes Environmental Record - Broken Promises and Grim Reality" and the "Jobs and the Environment" piece.

Prepared by Molly H. Olson
19 October 1992